THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES IN SOUTHERN INDIA

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THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

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THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES IN SOUTHERN INDIA:

A REVIEW OF THE PORTUGUESE MISSIONS TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS, AND TO MODERN MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN THE SAME QUARTER.

The Maitland Prize Essay for 1870.

BY

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"Solis multi radii, sed lumen unum."
S. CYPRIAN, *De Unit. Eccles.* c. v.

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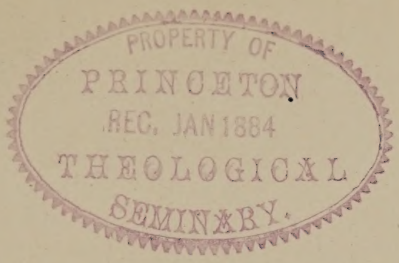

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE regulations under which Sir Peregrine Maitland's prize is awarded by the University of Cambridge provide "that the Essay be printed at the expense of the successful candidate." In pursuance of this regulation the present Essay is made public.

The title has been chosen as indicating one main purpose of the Essay; which is to trace the progress of Christianity in a particular part of the world, through the diverse and too often antagonistic action of various sections of the Church Visible. Churches fall and rise, sleep and wake, but the Church lives and advances.

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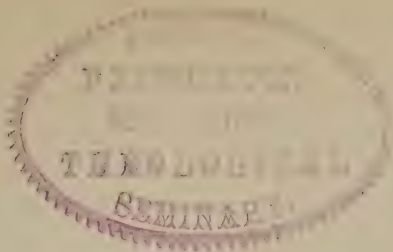

INTRODUCTION.

Prevailing indifference to missions.

It is the almost universal complaint of missionaries who visit their home and country, and of others who attempt to enlist the interest of the Christian community in England in the progress of the Church's work abroad, that, among all classes, they are met by a degree of ignorance, indifference, or of actual hostility, which is very discouraging. To remove this indifference, or this hostile prejudice, must be the desire of all who look to the missionary work of the Church, not only as the great instrument for advancing the borders of the Kingdom of Christ in the world, but also as an effectual means for kindling and reviving the flame of spirituality in the hearts of those who are already called Christians, whose love, thus flowing forth in gift-bearing streams to those who are without, may return upon their own souls in fertilizing showers. Among the means which may be regarded as likely to conduce to this end, information about the people for whose enlightenment missionary work is undertaken, about their present condition and their past history, and, especially, information concerning the efforts which have been made in past ages, or are being made now, by various branches of the Church Catholic, concerning the holy zeal, the methods, and the mistakes of such as have been engaged in these efforts, concerning their failures and their successes, would appear to be of no little value. The brotherhood of mankind is a fact to which the unconscious instinct of all men bears witness. That unconsciousness must be changed into consciousness, however, before this fact can operate as

Information a probable means of arousing an interest.

Its use in exciting sympathy.

the occasion and the cause of ardent interest and vigorous exertion. Whatsoever helps us to realize the people of distant lands and distant ages, as living, loving, and suffering spirits, must also help to arouse in us such consciousness. When we learn how, for the sake of the ignorant heathen, our forerunners in the Faith have toiled and endured, how that toil and that endurance were not utterly in vain, how the human heart has ever responded in love and confidence to the appeal made to it by love and self-sacrifice, there must surely be a power in the thoughts thus suggested to make dearer to us the Faith which nerved the one to do and suffer, and for which the other forsook his idols.

In arousing emulation.

And, in the doings of bygone ages, there may be another phase of history, by looking upon which we may be stimulated to greater zeal for the work which is yet to be done. We may be called upon to watch the zeal and courage of earnest men pouring themselves out in vain upon some object, which to them seemed good and noble, but which we know to have been useless and hurtful to humanity. And we may, perchance, be aroused to ask ourselves whether, having set before us an object which is *truly* high and noble, which beyond a doubt *must be* beneficial to humanity,—the making known the name and the love of God in Christ to the millions of poor darkened souls to whom they are now unknown, or the fanning of smouldering fires of Christian hope and zeal in cold hearts and lukewarm Churches,—we shall not strive, at least, to emulate the exertions and the self-denial of those who laboured for a vain end?

In suggesting practical counsel.

And for those, again, who already are interested in missionary work, and even for those who take part in its direction or its operations, there may be a use in enquiries such as that which I have suggested. From the experience of the missionaries of other Churches and other days, from their mistakes, no less than from their better directed efforts, much may be learnt. I do not say that history can be accepted as the only teacher, or as the chief teacher, by such men. No doubt, one fact of their own experience is worth many pages of history. But I do claim for the records of

by-past missions some value, as a source of practical instruction as well as a stimulus for zeal.

Importance of India.

There is no country which is of more importance in the eyes of us Englishmen, whether we look at it from a religious or from a secular point of view, than India. Vast in extent, infinitely various and abundant in natural productions—to England, as a land of merchants, it is of almost inestimable value. Vast in extent again, teeming with population, the home at once of the highest intellectualism and of the grossest superstitions, it is, or ought to be, to England as a land of Christians, a possession earnestly coveted for the Church of Christ. And in India, if we are to select one part as the peculiar scene of evangelistic effort, we must select the Southern extremity; if we are to point out the region of deepest interest for all to whom Christianity is dear, and in whose eyes all that is primitive in Christianity is venerable, that region is Malabar.

Interest attaching to Southern India.

Advantage for the present subject.

It may reasonably be hoped, therefore, that an enquiry into a portion of the history of Christianity, as it has existed and worked in that Southern extremity, and chiefly in Malabar, will have a fair vantage-ground as an attempt to interest and influence the minds of men in favour of Christian missions.

Scope of the present Essay.

With this view, therefore, I undertake the present Essay, which is to consist of an enquiry into the history of the Early Portuguese Missions in Southern India, especially their treatment of the Syrian Church in Malabar; together with an attempt to institute a comparison or contrast between these missions and those which the present century has seen established in the same districts, and to gather, from such an enquiry, a few thoughts of encouragement (if it may be), and of practical suggestion, for the more diligent and effective promotion of Christian missions in that part of India, and in other places.

Desires.

There is also in my own mind a desire (which I here frankly avow) to find everywhere, and to trace out so far as is possible, that element of good which I believe to exist in all Churches and in all believers in Christ. If I shall be able

to help others also to see good in all men and all creeds—all, at any rate, that hold and acknowledge the name of Christ—one object very precious in my own sight will have been served. It will be my aim in such questions to be fair to both points of view, for even in this matter it is no doubt possible to go too far in *either* direction. But, if I err, I trust that the error may be on the side of Christian charity.

That, if this Essay be ever made public, God will use it as an instrument for arousing some increased interest in the work of foreign missions, and will make it in some other ways profitable to a few; that it may, especially, help to awaken a loving and prayerful regard for the remnant of the ancient Church of S. Thomas in India, and may contribute in some small measure towards the complete revival and strong settlement of that Church, as once more the Church of Malabar,—these are my uppermost desires.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

India secluded.

In the history of the intercourse of races with one another, it is generally found that men are a more formidable barrier between man and man, than any of those which Nature seems to have interposed for their separation. So long as nations lay between the people of Western Europe, and the people of India, small was the communication between them, slight was the knowledge which they possessed each of the other. In the ages which preceded the fifteenth century, India had been known to the nations of the West as the producer of spices and pearls and diamonds, of rich cloths, and delicate textures. In the journey from their native land to the palaces of European kings and nobles, these treasures passed through many hands. Persians and Arabs, Tartars and Turks, Egyptians and Genoese, conveyed them across deserts and mountain ridges, over narrow seas and through the crowded markets of great cities; and the treasures carried with them to their journey's end, but few stories of the country whence they came, little or nothing but fables and romances.

Commencement of modern intercourse.

But when the hand of the Mussulman kept the gates, and his sword hung over the old road to that land of riches —when commerce must find for herself a new path or die— and when the adventurous sailors, pioneering a way for the merchants, crept round the African coast and reached the treasure-house—when thus it was found that only the great sea, "oceanus dissociabilis," as it had been called, rolled

between Europe and India—then, though the way was longer, and not free from dangers and delays[1], the intercourse became closer. Then man not only gave to man his pearls and his fabrics, but nation spake with nation in anger or in friendship, and men came face to face with men for good and for evil. Then sprang there up, on this side or on that, the knowledge of needs in the other which this thought to supply, the knowledge of good possessed by the other which this began to covet. So commences the history of modern communications between the commercial nations of the West and the people of that truly wondrous land of the East—a history in which the enterprises of trade for the supply of men's bodily wants, and the efforts of the more enlightened and spiritually blest for the bestowal of light and knowledge upon their more ignorant fellows, are alike occasionally eclipsed. They are eclipsed by the efforts put forth by the ambition of nations, and by the avarice of individuals, to enrich and strengthen themselves; but happily for the remnant of good repute which still clings to the Europeans, though they are eclipsed in that history, they are never absolutely blotted out from it.

First voyage of Vasco de Gama.

It was in the summer of the year 1497 that Vasco de Gama, having prayed and heard mass with his companions in the little chapel of Our Lady on the seashore near Lisbon, sailed out of the mouth of the Tagus with four ships, to open, if it were possible, a new way to India, upon which Mahometan Viceroys could exact no tribute of money or of men's lives. The adventurers were committed by their friends to the cruel mercies of the unknown seas, with but little hope that they should ever be seen at home again. They knelt on the shore before embarking, and received general absolution, as for death. Ten months afterwards, they cast anchor in the port of Calicut, on the Malabar coast. Thus were the Christian Cross and the flag of Portugal planted on the Indian shores. The first expedition returned with tidings of its success. Others followed.

[1] See (e. g.) the duration of de Gama's first voyage.

Treaties were made for purposes of trade with the native rulers, and within four-and-twenty years after the first appearance of Vasco de Gama and his Portuguese ships on that coast, several ports had fallen into the possession of the new comers, and they were already carrying on a thriving commerce.

The Natives;

They found, however, something in India besides ports and merchandize. There were *men* there, with the religious instinct, the religious craving, and possessed also of something which was either true religion or false religion.

their religions.

For the most part the people were then, as they still remain, heathen, either belonging to the Aboriginal race of the country, and worshipping, according to their various local rites, animals, trees, rocks, or devils; or else to that other primitive race, the Hindu conquerors, adoring the companions of Brahma and his incarnations. There were also found upon that coast some followers of the prophet Mahomet, worshipping the living God after the fashion which they learnt in the Koran. And, lastly, there was found there a community of Christians, which from very early times had been established in that land. Such were the various religions which were flourishing among the people of Southern India, when Vasco de Gama cast his anchors in the harbour of Calicut[1]. The manner in which the Portuguese treated these religions and their professors, is the subject of our present history.

Visit of Pedro de Cabral.

A second expedition to India was undertaken by the Portuguese soon after the return of Vasco de Gama. This was under the command of Don Pedro de Cabral, and visited the West Coast of India in the year 1500. It was Cabral who first brought to his countrymen news of the Christian Churches in Malabar. He landed at Cranganore, which was one of their principal towns, and made the acquaintance of several Christians of the neighbourhood. Two of them, who were brothers, Matthias and Joseph by name, were persuaded to sail back with him to Europe, intending,

[1] There was also, then, as now, a colony of Jews in Malabar, who have, however, no connection with our present history.

it is said, to proceed from Portugal to Mosul to visit the Patriarch, who was the head of their Church. The elder of the two, Matthias, died at Lisbon, soon after their arrival there. Joseph is traced to Rome, and thence to Venice, where he published an account of himself and of the Church to which he belonged, under the title of "The Voyages of Joseph the Indian." At Venice we lose sight of him. Whether he ever returned home, or reached Mosul, we know not.

Second voyage of Vasco de Gama.

In February 1502, Vasco de Gama, with the title of "Admiral of the Indian, Persian, and Arabian Seas," started on his second voyage to the Land of Spices. He anchored at length in the harbour of Cochin. Whilst he remained there, carrying on trade with the natives, and treating with the Rajah for future privileges upon his coast, de Gama was visited by a deputation of native Christians. These people, hearing of the arrival in their country of those who bore the name of Christians, and supposing, as they came in such force, that they meant to secure a permanent footing there, naturally hailed them as brethren, and expected to enjoy, under their protection, greater religious advantages than they had had under their heathen and Mahometan rulers. A number of them accordingly came on board the Admiral's ship, and requested him to take them under his protection and that of his Sovereign. In token of their submission to the royal authority of his Master they presented to him a staff of vermilion wood, tipped with silver, and bearing three little bells at the head. This had been once the sceptre of their kings, but their royal line was now extinct. The Admiral received the deputation with all courtesy, and assured them that when he had made good his ground in the country, he would not fail to protect them as they desired. Ill-fated Church of Malabar! the Portuguese will protect you from the heathen princes, but who will protect you from the Portuguese?

He receives a Christian deputation.

Sends engineers to teach the Malabars the use of artillery.

In the year 1505 de Gama sent into Malabar two engineers whom he had brought with him from Europe, who taught the natives, and especially the Christians, the use of

artillery. But whether this was done by way of redeeming his promise to the deputation, or rather with a view to the future employment of these people in the service of the Portuguese, we cannot tell. It is said that Vasco was thereby giving effect to the designs of his country's enemies, the Venetians, who had sent these two engineers into the service of the Portuguese, in order that they might be the means of putting an instrument of vengeance into the hands of the tribes whom these should subdue.

Rivalry of Mahometan traders.

The Portuguese did not secure the Indian commerce for themselves without some opposition. The trade upon that coast had been hitherto in the hands of Mahometan merchants and sailors, who were encouraged by some of the native princes for the sake of the duty of ten per cent. which these were able to levy upon their trade. The Mahometan traders were not slow to entertain feelings of jealousy and hostility against their new rivals, and a bitterness at once sprang up, which continued for many years, and found frequent vent in acts of warfare and piracy on both sides.

Success of the Portuguese.

But in spite of all the opposition which could be offered them, the Portuguese gradually possessed themselves of such power in India, that for a time they could defy and domineer over the native Sovereigns, and monopolize the commerce of the greater part of the West Coast.

Conquests and treaties.

They established several factories on that coast, and in the year 1510 they besieged and took the city of Goa, which was made the capital of the Portuguese dominions in the East, and the seat of an Indian Viceroy. The command was then in the hands of Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque, a man of great energy, and well versed in political cunning. The conquest of Goa was followed speedily by the reduction of several other important places, among them, Diu, Bombay, and Damaun. Some of these places were obtained by treaty; but, where diplomacy failed, it was not difficult to find an excuse for quarrelling with the native princes, and for robbing them of their ports and strongholds. We do these Portuguese settlers no injustice by the use of such a word as

"robbing"; for their proceedings with reference to the heathen sovereigns and the Mahometan traders were more like the deeds of a party of pirates than of a vanguard of commerce and enlightenment from a civilized and Christian nation. By fair means or by foul, however, they made rapid progress. A few slight reverses they received, but these did not stay their advance. By the year 1531 they had succeeded in putting down the trade of their rivals, the Mahometan merchants, who sank beneath their superior influence, and became subject to their dictation. Not even native vessels were suffered to trade, except in such articles as were unworthy the attention of the strangers; nor were they safe upon the seas, unless they had a safe conduct from the Portuguese governor.

They pass over to Coromandel.

Nor were the Portuguese content with thus possessing themselves of the whole trade of the Malabar and adjacent coasts. They crossed over to the other side, and in the towns and harbours of Coromandel they carried on for many years a thriving trade.

Bad character of the early settlers.

The pioneers of commerce have scarcely ever been men of good repute. They are thrown, it must be confessed, into the midst of very strong temptations, and at the same time, seeing that they are generally the most daring and adventurous spirits which their country can afford, it is perhaps too much to expect that they should be also distinguished for purity or a strong love of justice to their fellows, and so should be armed against the temptations to cruelty and immorality, which they are sure to encounter. Cast into the midst of tribes too feeble or too divided to offer them any effectual resistance, secured by distance from the probability of speedy punishment for any crimes which they may commit, supported too often in all schemes of oppression and aggrandizement by the whole power of their home Government, they can scarcely be expected—not being at the outset, generally, men of strong and pure principle—to be very choice in their measures for securing the interests and enrichment of their country or themselves. We have characterized the early Portuguese settlers in India as resembling in their acts

a party of pirates. The reproach is one which can by no means be confined to that nation; but to that nation and its doings in India, our attention at present *is* confined. That they were not only unjust and violent in their public conduct towards the natives, but impure and abandoned also in their private lives, is attested by the most trustworthy authorities. The Carmelite missionary, Vencenzo Maria[1], gives an account of their condition and morals which is truly appalling. The Portuguese of unmixed race were of the dregs of the people, covered with crimes, and banished on that account from their country. And the half-bloods, who in time sprang up among them, were ignorant, effeminate, and given up to all kinds of sensual indulgence. The historian Maffeus directly attributes the slow progress of Christianity among the natives to the evil lives of the majority of his countrymen: "Neque tantum spectata paucorum innocentia et virtus adstruit Evangelio fidem, quantum insignis multorum et notissimi fere cujusque avaritia et improbitas adimit[2]."

Such were the people, then, who had now entered India; and such was their progress towards a permanent dominion in that land, and a monopoly of trade upon its coasts. Such were the people by whose means the Christianity of the West was first to be brought into contact with the Christianity, the Idolatry, the Mahometanism, of the great Asiatic Peninsula.

Such is the medium of contact between the religions of the East and of the West.

I have already related the first intercourse which these new comers had with the Christians of India, and the promises of protection which, in return for their simple, child-like confidence, were vouchsafed to them. We shall see in future chapters how these promises were kept, and what use was made of the sovereignty which these Indian Christians thus conferred upon the King of Portugal. There is, however, another incident, in which the trustful disposition of these people towards those who bore the name of their

The native Christians shew further confidence in the Portuguese.

[1] Quoted by Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I. p. 329.

[2] "Nor can the well-tried innocence and virtue of a few obtain as much credit for the Gospel, as the notorious avarice and wickedness of the many, and in general of all the most prominent men, destroy."—Quoted by Kaye, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, p. 16 n.

Divine Master is again strikingly displayed, and which seems to belong to this place, as it occurred in the early years of the Portuguese settlement. Soon after they had established a factory at the port of Cochin, and, by the permission of the Rajah, had built a fortress there, the Bishop of Angamalé, who was the head of the native Church, deposited in that fortress for safe keeping under the care of the Christian settlers, certain tablets of brass, on which were inscribed the charters of rights of nobility and other important privileges, which had been granted to the Church in a former age by one of the native heathen sovereigns[1]. Whilst they were in the custody of the Portuguese these tablets were lost, and it is only within the last twenty years that they have been recovered. Thus carelessly was the deposit guarded.

Indifference of the Portuguese.

Little notice then, this being all the intercourse which is recorded, did the Portuguese take of their fellow Christians, during the first fifty years of their residence in India. They were wholly occupied in conquest and commerce, and heeded not the Christianity which was crying out to them for sympathy and protection. And though their interference, when at length they did take notice of the native Church, was such as to make the Christians wish that their indifference had still continued, yet this indifference was no healthful sign of their religious condition, and we are constrained to approve the opinion of the pious Manuel de Faria, that "those merchants whom Christ whipp'd out of the temple were such as these[2]."

Neglect of Missionary work.

Nor was the indifference of the colonial authorities towards the native Church of Malabar due to the engrossing nature of their efforts to convert the heathen and Mahometans, whose errors might certainly seem to stand in greater need of the compassion and the assistance of enlightened Christians. Ecclesiastical matters in India were very early arranged among the Portuguese upon a settled basis. The

[1] Buchanan, *Christian Researches in India*, edited by Foy, p. 41.

[2] Asia Portuguesa, quoted by Geddes, *Church History of Malabar*, p. 6.

city of Goa was first placed under the prelacy of Don Duarte Nunez, Bishop of Laodicea. But in the year 1537, it was made the seat of an episcopal see by Pius III., and twenty years later its bishop was created Metropolitan and Primate of all the Indies by Pius V. Two years later another bishop was placed at Cochin. But whatever influence these prelates may have exerted in the Portuguese communities, they seem to have made no serious effort for the conversion of the unbelievers, or for the building up of the native Church, during the period of which we are now writing. The government at home did indeed send out a few friars, for the express purpose of preaching to the natives. But these appear for the most part to have occupied themselves in obtaining sites for convents and monasteries, which they proceeded zealously to build. Some of them, however, remembered the object for which they had been sent, and applied themselves to the work of evangelization. They are represented as wandering through the country, collecting congregations here and there, and building small churches for their use. But though there may have been earnest men among them, and some real work may have been done, we neither read of any important conversions, nor of any permanent results produced by their exertions.

A few zealous friars.

In the meantime a system of political proselytism was being carried on under the auspices of the Viceroys and especially of Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque, who "in order to breed up soldiers, very wisely got the Indian maids made Christians, and married them to the Portuguese, that they might not always stand in need of fresh supplies of men from Portugal[1]."

Political Proselytism.

On the whole, it appears that neither the principle nor the measure of the efforts put forth by the Portuguese at this time was at all belied by that Spanish Minister of State, quoted by Michael Geddes, who told Philip IV. that "the conversions that had been made there were performed by the Divine Power, and the charity of a few particular friars;

Report of a Spanish Minister of State.

[1] Kaye, p. 16.

the Government and Crown having no other aim therein but the robbing of kingdoms and cities; and there were still the greatest conversions where there was most to gratify their covetousness. But where there was nothing to be had, there the people were obdurate and not to be wrought upon[1]."

[1] Geddes, p. 5.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCIS XAVIER.

Early attempts of the Portuguese to propagate Christianity fruitless.

We have seen something, in our first chapter, of the measure and character of the early attempts of the Portuguese to propagate Christianity among the natives of India. No permanent good, so far as we can learn, was produced by these attempts.

Birth of Xavier.

But, at that very time, a giant in missionary effort was being nursed in Europe, who was destined by God's good providence to leave his mark among the heathen of the East.

Francis Xavier, a child of noble Spanish parents, was born under the shadow of the Pyrenees on the 7th of April, 1506; just at the time when, in the monastery at Erfurt, another great earnest soul was passing through the struggles of a second birth. In his earliest years he displayed a great aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge and a remarkable love of self-communing. At the age of eighteen he removed to Paris and studied philosophy at the University. As soon as he had taken his master's degree, he was chosen philosophical professor, and lectured with great success on Aristotle. He became acquainted at the University with some of Luther's followers, and appears to have been greatly attracted by their earnestness and simplicity of doctrine. But, soon after he was made professor, there came one to Paris who was destined to exercise a much greater influence over his ardent soul.

Xavier at Paris.

Loyola founds the Order of Jesuits.

Ignatius Loyola, another noble Spaniard, was about fifteen years older than Xavier. He had been a page-royal, then a soldier; but, being wounded by a cannon-ball at the

siege of Pampeluna, he was constrained for a season to remain in quietness and retirement. It was then that new thoughts and aims came to him. He determined to leave the army and devote himself to the service of the Church. To complete his preparation for his new pursuit, he came at length to Paris and entered the University. Here he laid the foundation of the famous Society of Jesus. The institutes of that Society, which he presented to Pope Paul III., were at first returned without being confirmed, but afterwards, as all the world knows, the Order received the Pontiff's sanction. Loyola, in the meantime, had secured a few earnest men for the original members of his Society. Among the seven, who, upon the summit of Montmartre, dedicated themselves to the service of the Roman Church, was Francis Xavier. He had at length yielded to the influence of the older and more fiery spirit of Ignatius, and had given up the service of philosophy for that of religion.

Character of the first Jesuits.

The Order of Jesuits has worked so many mischiefs in the world, and has justly made so many enemies among the lovers of truth and religious liberty, that it is very difficult for us to look upon this self-devotion of Ignatius, Francis, and their five companions with any eye but one of suspicion. Yet there is really nothing in the character of the men, so far as at this distance of time we can estimate it upon good evidence, which should lead us to suppose that they were actuated by any but the purest motives, by any motive but zeal for that which they held to be the true interest of Christianity. The constitutions of the Order, and the "secret counsels," which have deservedly been condemned by the Church and the world alike, are the work, not of Loyola himself or his original companions, but of his successors in the generalship of the Society. That the Order soon became degenerate from its original character is beyond a doubt; that its missionaries of the second and third ages were not worthy to be compared with Xavier in purity and enlightenment, the annals of Christianity in India furnish abundant and painful proof. But, whilst we do not close our eyes to the faults of their disciples, whilst also we hold in abhorrence the claim

of spiritual supremacy for the Roman bishops, which they set themselves to sustain and enforce; we may not insinuate a doubt of the sincerity and honest conviction of the Seven, nor withhold our admiration from the earnestness and self-devotion, which are to be traced in the life of one of them at any rate[1].

Xavier's labours in Europe.

Francis Xavier soon gave proof of the sincerity of his vows by the incessant labours, the extreme hardships, which he willingly endured during the years of his noviciate. Called, at length, to Rome with his companions, he took charge as priest of the church of S. Lawrence in Damaso. After he had laboured there for a time, winning high renown by his preaching, and attending unceasingly upon the sick and poor people who were under his charge, there came a request from the King of Portugal to the Pope for missionaries for India. Xavier and his brother in vows, Rodriguez, were appointed, and immediately held themselves in readiness. With the sovereign Pontiff's blessing, and a few words of hearty encouragement from Loyola, they departed for Lisbon. Though his affectionate nature doubtless drew Xavier strongly towards his home, he would not turn aside to visit it, lest perchance the sight of his family's affection might turn him from his purpose. Nine months he spent at Lisbon, lodging in the hospital of All Saints, visiting the sick and dying, carrying the comforts of religion to the distressed and the prisoners. When at length the Indian fleet was ready to sail, Xavier went alone, leaving his colleague sick. The spirit in which he went is well displayed in his parting words to Rodriguez. He spoke of a vision which he had beheld in his sleep at Rome, a vision of a wide ocean lashed with storms, in which were rocks, desert islands, barbarous lands, where hunger and thirst and death in many forms raged fearfully. The vision seemed to him to represent his own

He sails for India.

[1] In this criticism of the past doings of the Jesuits no hostility is intended towards the modern members of that society. There have been always among them no doubt men in whom was something of the spirit of Xavier, and I can readily believe that in no age have such men more abounded than in the present.

future sufferings for the sake of Christ. He cried out, "Yet more, O my God, yet more!" More hardships were shown to him. But he was not to be satisfied with mere visions. He cried again—"I hope that the Divine goodness will grant me that in India which He has foreshown to me in Italy."

His thirst for hardships.

This intense desire for peril and suffering seems to our minds overstrained. We feel that, whilst the Christian should be ready to endure willingly all that comes to him in the course of his work for Christ, it is not for him to seek out or to crave after hardships. And yet we seem to hear in this cry of Xavier some echo of the voice of the blessed Ignatius, who wrote concerning the wild beasts towards whose jaws he was hastening—Κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα μὴ θελήσῃ ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι ... νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι[1]. And, whilst we rejoice for ourselves that Christ has given us a clearer view of His character and will than Xavier attained to, let us recognize the strong love for the Saviour and the fervent zeal in His service which could make him willingly suffer such perils in anticipation, and could sustain him in actual endurance when some of his expectations were realized.

His labours on the voyage.

Like a true soldier of the Cross, Xavier found his warfare everywhere. The ship in which he sailed carried out the new viceroy, and troops and passengers to the number of 1000. Here for the present was his mission. For the greater part of thirteen months he ministered unweariedly to the sick souls of men, labouring especially among those who were stricken almost unto death by fever. Among these he laboured until the fever laid him also low.

Arrives at Goa.

On the 6th of May, 1542, the fleet, which carried this precious burden of one devoted soul, arrived at Goa. That night Xavier spent, shut up alone in one of the churches, in prayer to God.

His occupations at Goa. Preaches to the Portuguese.

For several months he remained at Goa, but not in inactivity. The moral and religious condition of the Portuguese of that city was such as to present an insuperable obstacle to the spread of Christianity among their neigh-

[1] "Even if they hold back in unwillingness I will provoke them...Now begin I to be a disciple." *Epistle to the Romans*, § 5.

bours. Xavier boldly rebuked the vices even of the rich and great, earnestly exhorted them to repentance, lovingly carried the message of God's grace to the poor and needy; and, before he left Goa, it was granted to him to see a marked improvement in the tone and conduct of society there.

Reorganizes the College of S. Paul.

He turned his attention also to the college of S. Paul, lately founded at Goa for the education of native youths, had it placed under the care of his own society, and introduced many improvements into its system which greatly enlarged its usefulness.

Provides for needy proselytes.

He interested himself in the condition of the natives who had embraced Christianity. When an Indian renounced his heathenism, he was immediately cast off by his family; and, as no provision had been made for the sustenance of such by the monks who converted them, many had died in extreme poverty, and left their children an heritage of starvation. For the relief of such needy proselytes Xavier obtained subscriptions from the inhabitants of Goa, and established a seminary for the orphan children.

Cultivates the acquaintance of Indians.

At the same time, he diligently cultivated the acquaintance of the natives, who resorted to Goa from all parts of India; and obtained from them much information concerning their language, customs, and religion.

Thus the time of his sojourn there was fully employed. At length he deemed his preparations complete, and looked out for an opportunity of active missionary work. Such an opportunity soon presented itself.

His mission to the Paravars.

On the southern coast, close to Cape Comorin, there dwelt a tribe of fishermen, poor, weak, and degraded. They had been delivered by the Portuguese from the oppression of the Mahometans, and, in gratitude to their deliverers, had taken the name and profession of Christianity. Little more than the name had they. Scarcely half of them were baptized, and those who were knew little or nothing of the Christian doctrines. Their poverty, their feebleness, their degradation, all spoke powerfully to the heart of Xavier, so full of love. He determined to go and enlighten them. In October, 1542, he left Goa, taking with him two priests who

knew something of the language. These, however, turned out to be of little use, and Xavier soon found that he must himself teach the natives in their own tongue, if he was to make any progress among them.

He is ignorant of the native tongue.

Here was his first hindrance,—his own ignorance of the language of those whom he was come to convert. It is strange how slow the Church has been to learn this lesson, that one of the first qualifications for effective missionary work is the possession of the native tongue. We have learnt it at last. We may look to Xavier as one of our teachers. It is abundantly manifest from his letters how deeply he felt his defect in this matter. But there he was, in the appointed field of his labours, and his ardent soul could brook no delay.

His plan of instruction.

With the help of his interpreters and some of the natives, he translated into the dialect of the people the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Confiteor, and other church formularies, and, finally, the whole of the Catechism. Then, having committed these to memory, he went forth to teach. "I went about with my bell," he writes, "in my hand, and gathering together all I met, both men and children, I instructed them in the Christian doctrine[1]." He tells us that the children learnt it easily in a month, and they were employed to teach it to their parents. Thus he began. Truly a strange scene is presented to our imagination, when we think of these dark-faced men and women coming in their multitudes around their new teacher, and repeating aloud after him the words of Christian doctrine and precept, with the intermingled prayer for faith and obedience, which he dictated to them. It was certainly improbable that such teaching would be, in itself, productive of very good results either in the belief or in the life of these poor people. Yet, if it could have been followed by more detailed and explanatory instruction, it is by no means certain that it was not the best means which could have been adopted, in the case of men so ignorant as these Paravars (such is the name of the tribe) appear to have been. It might have answered with

[1] Father Bohour's *Life of Xavier*, translated by Dryden, *Works*, Vol. XVI. p. 84.

them, as with children, to give them first Christian words and then Christian thoughts. Nor is it for us to assert that the expressions of Christian faith and duty, which they thus learnt by rote, did not become in some of them the seed of better fruit, under the blessing of that Spirit who always abides in the Church of Christ, to prosper the way of the earnest disciple, and to teach the lowly in heart.

It is not our province to follow Xavier step by step through all his missionary undertakings. It would be an employment full of interest, but it belongs rather to the historian. We must be content with a few scenes from his life and work, by which his character and method of teaching may be more plainly displayed.

Mission to the interior.

On his second visit to the southern coast, having brought with him some other missionaries from Goa, he left them in charge of the Paravars, and himself penetrated alone into the interior to spread Christianity among the natives there, who were heathen in name as well as in reality. He went among them, however, still ignorant of their language, nor had he even an interpreter. Accordingly he himself writes[1]: "All I can perform is to baptize children and to serve the sick, an employment easily understood without the help of an interpreter, by only minding what they want." Nor were his temporal ministrations given to the sick only. While he was thus engaged in the interior, news came to him that his converts upon the fishery coast had all been driven from their homes by an invasion of the Badages. He immediately determined to succour them. From the nearest Portuguese station he obtained twenty ships, well manned and laden with arms and provisions; and then he sought out the poor people in their retreat. By his presence, by the comfort and the food which he brought them, he reanimated their spirits; he carried them back to their homes; he raised a subscription to repair their losses; and, when he went away, he left two missionaries to teach and protect them.

He succours the Paravars.

Mission in Travancore,

In Travancore, where we next find him, his success was marvellous. In one month he is reported to have baptized

[1] Letter to Mansilla. Dryden as above.

ten thousand idolaters. Often the inhabitants of a whole village were baptized in one day. And that they knew something at any rate of what their baptism meant, is manifest by the zeal with which they ran to demolish the idols which they had lately worshipped. Much of his success here may have been due to a deliverance, which his heroic faith enabled him to achieve for the people. The Badages had come down upon Travancore in great force; and, whilst the Rajah was collecting his military nobles and their retainers to oppose them, Xavier took the field against them at the head of a small body of his converts. With a crucifix in his hand he advanced to meet the invading army, and forbade them in the name of God to proceed. Whether they thought that he was one of their own divinities come down to turn them from their purpose, or feared the anger of the God of the Christians, we know not. A panic seized them, and they fled. Great honour was paid to Xavier for his bloodless victory by the Rajah and nobles: but he besought them to give the glory to Jesus Christ. The news of it spread also to other regions, and cries came continually to the ears of the missionary, beseeching him to go and teach. For all the work which was thus laid out for him in India Xavier felt that he and his handful of helpers were not sufficient. He wrote to Europe for more priests. It was the conviction of his own mind, and he said so in one of his letters—"That millions of idolaters might be easily converted, if there were more preachers, who would sincerely mind the interests of Jesus Christ and not their own concernments."

He repels an invasion of the Badages.

Writes to Europe for help in his Mission.

His mission in Manaar.

One scene of his labours was the island of Manaar, between Ceylon and the mainland. The inhabitants, who were fishermen and outcasts like the Paravars, received him joyfully, and many were baptized. Persecution came to try the metal of their Christianity. Their sovereign, the Rajah of Jaffnapatam, jealous, it is likely, of the growing power of the Portuguese, was very angry with his subjects for becoming Christians. He ordered all who would worship Christ to be put to death, men, women and children. Ignorant as they were of the higher mysteries of the religion which they

Persecution.

had embraced, these persecuted ones yet endured unto the death. From six to seven hundred of them became martyrs for Christ. And they endured with such constancy that the religion for which they suffered spread the more, and numbered its converts in the court and family of the Rajah himself.

Converts a libertine.

It has been said above that, wherever Xavier was, he found his work. In one of his voyages he had for his fellow-traveller a libertine and atheist. The method which he adopted for carrying conviction to the soul of this man is mentioned with disapproval by the Protestant historians. But it seems to me that, if the man of God, in his earnest desire for the conversion of this soul, was willing to scourge his own flesh in order that he might present to the eyes of his companion a living picture of the sufferings of Jesus for his sins (which was his own declared object[1]), he was just the man to produce an impression upon the minds of the people to whom he had come to preach.

Visits Del Moro.

In the course of a mission among the Malacca and Molucca islands, Xavier was told about the Isles of Del Moro, whose inhabitants were reported to be of the nature of fiends rather than of men. He resolved to visit them. His friends entreated him not to go. They endeavoured to prevent him by constraint. But he rebuked them for their want of faith in God's power and graciousness. "Shall the Isles of Del Moro," he asked, "be the only place which shall receive no benefit of redemption? When Jesus Christ obtained of the eternal Father all the nations of the earth as His inheritance, were these people excepted out of the donation?" In the words of his great model, he told them that he could do all things through Christ who strengthened him. Another rebuke he added, which is not altogether inappropriate to be repeated to this nation of Christian merchants; "If these islands abounded with precious woods, and mines of gold, Christians would have the courage to go thither; and all the dangers of the world would not be able to affright them; they are base and fearful because there are only souls to purchase." We have seen already

[1] See Hough, Vol. I. p. 190.

that he did not shrink from danger and suffering. "You tell me," he said, "that they will take away my life, either by the sword or poison; but those are favours too great for such a sinner as I am to expect from heaven, yet I dare confidently say that whatever torments or death they prepare for me, I am ready to suffer a thousand times more for the salvation of only one soul." And Xavier went to Del Moro. The first sight which he beheld there was a company of savages standing with bloody weapons over the bodies of some Portuguese sailors. The savages fled on his landing, but he followed them to their homes, and laboured to win them. The Christian cross was reared and the Christian hymn was sung amid those haunts of cruelty. But whether any permanent impression was made upon the islanders is very doubtful.

His settlement of the churches.

Soon after this the thoughts of this indefatigable missionary began to turn towards Japan. He numbered among his converts a nobly born native of that island and his two servants; and the accounts which these gave of their countrymen made him long to convert them. But, before he went thither, he took measures for the strengthening and confirming of his work in India. The churches which he had established were but ill supplied with clergy. With five missionaries, lately arrived from Europe, and some of the students of the college of S. Paul who were ordained, he was enabled to place most of the congregations under proper supervision, and, in Travancore and the Fishery Coast, many of the natives were made catechists. Nor did he lose sight of the necessity of Christianizing the Portuguese themselves. His letter to the king of Portugal, whom he besought to send out more religious teachers, is an appeal coming forth from the very depths of a heart which felt the vast importance of the subject upon which he wrote.

Mission in Japan.

In Japan, his labours were as abundant as in India, and his success was even greater. "There he laid the foundation of those once numerous and flourishing congregations of Japanese Christians, who, within a period of less than a century, amounted to more than a million of souls[1]."

[1] *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, by L'Abbé Dubois, pp. 3, 4.

In two years he is again at Goa. But he has dreamed of new worlds to be conquered for Christ. He will found a church in China.

His death. Within sight of the land which he panted to bring under the sway of the Cross, almost alone upon the Island of Sancian, the faithful Missionary was seized with fever, and died. On the 2nd of December, 1552, the fervent spirit departed to God. His body was brought back to India, at the earnest request of his fellow missionaries; and at Goa it was put into a costly coffin, and "enshrined in a monument of exquisite art[1]."

Reverence paid to his memory. Xavier was canonized. Among the few since the days of the Apostles who have been meet to be called Saints above their brethren, he ought most assuredly to be reckoned. Throughout the East, among heathen and Christians alike, his name was long held in reverence.

Miracles attributed to him. Considering the superstitious turn of people's minds at the time in which he lived and in the ages which followed, and the readiness with which the Roman Church adopted and encouraged the stories which attributed miraculous powers to her saints, it is by no means surprising that around the name of Xavier should have clustered many a legend of supernatural gifts, of miraculous cures, pertaining both to Xavier living and to Xavier dead. He is said to have begun his mission among the heathen by a miracle wrought in a certain village at Cape Comorin[2]. And for many years after his death crosses and shrines, erected at the principal scenes of his labour, were the occasions of marvellous cures[3]. But, whatever be the state of the question concerning Ecclesiastical Miracles in general, the evidence upon which these rest is not such as to cause much difficulty to those who deny them. The saint himself, though possibly he may have been led by his enthusiasm to fancy at times that he was endowed with such gifts, had not in his calmer moments much faith in them. Here is his answer, made at Goa, to a report

[1] Buchanan's *Researches*, p. 54.
[2] Dryden's *Life*, p. 82.
[3] See *The Jesuits in India*, by Rev. W. S. Mackay.

that he had raised the dead in the Fishery Coast. "Alas! poor sinner that I am! They set before me a child whom they reported to be dead, and who perhaps was not; I commanded him in the name of God to arise; he arose indeed, and there was the miracle[1]." It is said that he was endued with the gift of tongues. But his own confessions, as to the inconvenience of being unacquainted with the native languages, seem sufficiently to refute this statement. It is asserted, indeed, that this gift was first communicated to him in Travancore; that in his previous missions he had not possessed it[2]. But this, which is given only as a hearsay, seems to be a legendary expression of the fact, that there he first applied himself seriously to the study of the native tongues, and was able, being diligent and in earnest, to learn them very quickly[3].

His earnestness.

When, putting aside all that seems to be fabulous or doubtful, we set ourselves to estimate the character of this eminent missionary, we are brought face to face at once with the great and undeniable fact of his earnestness. However we look at him, whether with the suspicious glance of a Protestant, or with the reverential eye of a Romanist, we cannot help seeing that, whatever else he was or was not, he was a man thoroughly and intensely in earnest. His earnestness showed itself in many ways. It shrank from no self-denial. From his renunciation of his honourable post of literary ease at Paris, to his grave, his abnegation of self was continual. At Lisbon, when he refuses the apartments in the palace, and prefers to lodge among the sick in the hospital; on shipboard, when he declines the comfortable cabin and sleeps in his cloak upon deck, lest be should unfit himself for exposure and hardship in India; in the wood at Cannanore, when he scourges himself for the conversion of the libertine,—there and everywhere we can trace his strong unselfishness exerted for a good and noble cause. His earnestness was ready to brave all dangers. They tell him that "La Pescara" is barren and unhealthy, the heats are insupportable, that no stranger will settle there even for the bene-

Self-denial.

Courage.

[1] Dryden, p. 500. [2] Id. p. 108. [3] Id. p. 87.

fits of trade[1]. He answers, "I will go." At the head of his handful of Travancore converts he defies the great army of the Badages. For the conversion of the people of Del Moro, he puts his life into the hands of the most inhuman savages. Such a man we can readily believe, when he writes: "I see nothing more sweet or pleasing in this world, than to live in continual dangers of death, for the honour of Jesus Christ, and for the interests of the Faith[2]." That he carried his readiness to endure danger and hardship to an exaggeration we have already seen. But it is in the intensity of his earnestness that he so longs for hunger and thirst and tempest. Nor does his earnestness spend itself only in fiery courage and determined endurance. Patient labour it can also bear. At Rome in the famine; at Lisbon among the sick and the prisoners; on shipboard in the fever; among the Paravars in the task of translation, in the drudgery of learning and teaching elementary instruction by rote;—there, and everywhere, he laboured patiently, diligently, hopefully, unweariedly. And, best of all, his earnestness is greatly given to prayer. Like his Master, he gave days to labour, nights to supplication. The whole of his first night in India he spent thus. And it is recorded that, during the whole of his residence at Goa, he allowed himself only four hours' sleep in every twenty-four, and even that was broken by the faintest sigh or the slightest movement of the sick, among whom he *would* lie. The rest of each night was spent in prayer[3]. At sea it was commonly said among the sailors, "That nothing was to be feared in the night, for Father Francis watched the vessel, and the tempest durst not trouble them whilst he held converse with God[4]."

Patience, Diligence.

Prayerfulness.

That his earnestness was due to a great love for his fellow-men, as well as for Christ and His Church, no man can read his history candidly, and still doubt. That he was strongly attached to his order, that the honour of the Pope and the Roman Church was an object dear to his soul, is certain. But to him, as a Romanist and a Jesuit, these

His love for his fellows.

[1] Dryden, p. 81.
[2] Letter to Rodriguez, Ib. p. 251.
[3] Dryden, p. 77.
[4] Id. p. 472.

were only parts of the great love and the great allegiance which he owed to Christ. And we cannot follow him in imagination to plague-stricken alleys in Rome, or to feverish beds at sea, or to the homes and haunts of European vice at Goa, or to the villages of the ignorant fishermen of "La Pescara," without feeling sure that he loves these souls to whom he ministers; loves them all the more because they are in hunger, in sickness, in misery,—because they are poor, ignorant, sinful, and degraded.

His mistakes.

He made mistakes, undoubtedly, some of them serious and important; some his own, some to be counted among the errors of his age and his church.

It was a mistake to go among the people of India without understanding a word of their language. But this error of his was closely connected with another which belonged to his age and communion. Baptism was administered as an "opus operatum." The ordinance itself, apart from the preparedness of the people to whom it was administered, was looked upon as the important and necessary step in conversion. So the great thing that had to be done was to baptize all who were willing, the only preparation required being the repetition of certain formulas of Christian doctrine. Instruction, building up, were meant to follow: in some cases, doubtless, they did follow. There were, among Xavier's baptized ones, zealous iconoclasts, patient martyrs, some true lives. What they were in general we shall see.

It was a mistake also to attempt so much. Loyola had said to him at Rome: "An entire world is reserved for your exertions, and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and zeal. The voice of God calls you. Kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you[1]." And this prospect seems ever to have been spread before his eyes. The whole East was heathen; the whole East was to be converted. And so, from one scene of action to another he hurried, from La Pescara to Travancore, from Travancore to Manaar, to Malacca, to Del Moro, to Japan, to

[1] Dryden's *Life*. See also Hough, Vol. I. p. 169.

China, eager to bring in new nations to the obedience of the Faith.

But he always returned, with constant love, to his poor fishermen, his first converts, and perhaps his truest. He was indeed eminently capable of influencing the minds of persons in their condition. By his cheerfulness[1] and helpfulness, by his ready sympathy for them in their troubles, by his careful attention to the sick, by his entire devotion of himself to the supply of their wants and to their instruction, he completely won their hearts, and was able to do with them what he would. His fitness for his mission.

His proselytes were chiefly of the poorer classes, who were most open to the contagion of his human sympathies. The Brahmans refused to listen to him, and his efforts to win their favour only provoked their hostility. In Travancore they laid plots for his destruction. Character of his converts.

Xavier's work, unless it had been followed up by the exertions of men like himself, was not calculated to endure, or to produce any valuable results. His converts on the whole were little better than baptized heathen. They renounced idolatry, they embraced the worship of God. But God, Jesus, were little more to them than names. They needed much patient, careful instruction, before they could grow into Christians. Such instruction it does not appear that they generally received. Therefore Xavier's converts disappointed him. He thought at length that there was something "in the manners and prejudices of the natives, which presented an insurmountable bar to the progress of Christianity among them[2]." At length, entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles that he everywhere met with, and by the apparent impossibility of making real converts, he left the country in disgust[3].

Of the "upwards of a million of heathen" whom he is said to have baptized, it is doubtful whether many ever attained to the full knowledge of our holy religion, or became

[1] "He was always cheerful and in good humour." Dryden's *Life*, p. 486.

[2] Dubois' *Letters*, pp. 2, 3.

[3] Ib. p. 3.

the fathers and mothers of Christians. It is true that Bercastel tells us that, in the year 1551, the number of converts on the Fishery-coast was 500,000, "all fervent, and desiring nothing more than to become martyrs for the faith[1]." But whether it was the name of Xavier or of Christ which inspired most of them, we are not informed. Certain it is that half a century afterwards the policy of Xavier was condemned by the Jesuits as ineffectual[2], and they had recourse to deceit, to do that which his earnestness had failed to achieve.

Failure of his mission.

On the whole there does not seem to be very much in Xavier's mission to rejoice over, except the man's own fervency and love. We must thank God that His Church has borne such children, that His gospel has nourished such heroes; but we must deplore the doctrinal and practical errors which, with all his unexampled self-devotion, prevented him from laying anywhere a solid foundation for the building up of an enduring Christianity among the heathen.

[1] *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, IX. 308.
[2] Ib. X. 67, 69.

CHAPTER III.

OTHER MISSIONARY EFFORTS.

Contrast between Xavier and other propagandists.

We have seen something, in the last chapter, of the life and work of one true Missionary. That he had, towards the close of his labours, a few companions like-minded with himself; that, when he departed for China, he left the convert churches of Travancore and La Pescara under the direction of some good and earnest teachers, we have no reason to doubt. And, for a time, Christianity may have found a lodging among those ignorant ones. But, when we turn our eyes back again from Xavier to the nation which employed him, and observe the efforts which they made in other directions to bring the unbelievers of India to the faith of Christ, the picture which we behold is sadly dark and hopeless. Xavier had used the true, Christ-like arts of love and sympathy and gentleness, to win the people to himself and to his Master. But not such were the means which the Portuguese and their priests commonly employed at this time for the conversion of the natives.

The Inquisition set up at Goa, A.D. 1560.

A very ominous event for India was the establishment at Goa, in the year 1560, of a branch of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, with all its dreadful staff of Inquisitors, Qualificators, Familiars, and Gaolers. Only three years had passed since the Inquisition had been first introduced into his dominions by the king of Portugal; and, already, its tender mercies were to be exercised upon his subjects and dependents in India. The influence of the Holy Office could not of course be brought to bear directly upon the heathen and Mahometans, who were independent of the Portuguese. As in Europe, its power was first exercised upon those who

were suspected of Judaism, and, afterwards, upon any who were supposed to be tainted with heresy, or to be privy to the taint of heresy in others. But its establishment at Goa is an indication of the spirit in which the men of that age and nation were disposed to deal with all those who despised, or seemed to them to despise, the blessings of true religion.

Violent proselytizing in Malabar.

Accordingly we find that during the life, or soon after the death, of Xavier, attempts were made to force Christianity upon the heathen and Mahometans of the Western Coast. A Mahometan writer, quoted by Mr Hough[1], charges the Portuguese with "oppressing and distressing" his co-religionists of Malabar, "by the commission of unlimited enormities, such as beating and deriding them; and sinking and stranding their ships; and spitting in their faces and on their bodies; and prohibiting them from performing voyages, particularly that to Mecca; and plundering their property, and burning their fields and temples, and making prizes of their ships, and kicking and trampling on their books, and throwing them into the flames." He accuses them, moreover, of using bribery and other allurements to obtain proselytes; of putting Hajis and others to death; of selling them as slaves; of confining them in noisome dungeons; of torturing them with fire; of transporting them to Arabia and other places. He says that they tried to persuade the "Hakim of Cochin" to expel them from his city, promising to bring him twice as much trade; but he would not.

Hidalcaon besieges Goa.

Nor does the evidence, as to their violent proceedings against the Mahometans, refer only to the coast of Malabar. In the year 1570, Hidalcaon, a Mahometan prince, whose subjects lived to the north of Goa, laid siege to that city. Considerable extracts from his address to his own people, and his letters to the Viceroy, are to be found in the pages of the same historian. From these it appears that he had been provoked to make war upon the Portuguese by their treatment of his subjects. He asserts that, in all the Portuguese ports around those seas, the ships of Mussulman tra-

[1] *Hist. of Christianity in India*, Vol. I. p. 264.

ders were strictly searched; and that all the boys and girls found in them were kept away from their parents and masters. He declares that this was done to make Christians of them, and he expresses an opinion, which will command the assent of most modern readers, that Jesus Christ cannot be pleased with such methods of obtaining disciples. He stirs up his subjects to endeavour to unite with the other natives of the country, for the extirpation of the oppressors, alleging as the chief reason "their compelling the Indians in all places, where they had power, to change their religion."

"Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Vel dici potuisse."

These things a reproach to Christendom.

So writes Michael Geddes, after having given an account of this Hidalcaon's charges. Something of this shame clings to the history of all Christian nations, and must always be incurred so long as the current Christianity neglects to make the great law of gentleness supreme: so long, also, as the precepts and principles of the Gospel are so mingled, in the hearts of men and in the counsels of nations, with other aims and motives. That much of this violence, used by the Portuguese towards the natives in India, was due to their aggressive political designs, and not to religious zeal, no man can doubt. And the Church may take to herself this grain of comfort under these reproaches. It is but a grain, however, and not very real; for the Church knows and teaches, that even the worldly policy of Christian nations ought to be animated by a Christian spirit. That something of this, moreover, may have been set down in malice and greatly exaggerated, is by no means impossible. But we have the testimony of Portuguese writers themselves to the tyranny and violence of their countrymen, even of those whose office it was to promote peace and gentleness.

The friars of Solor.

The Dominican friars, we are told, pretended to build a convent at Solor; but really built a fortress, in which the Viceroy forthwith placed a garrison. Very bitter feelings against this garrison naturally took possession of the hearts of the natives in the neighbourhood, and frequent quarrels ensued. The friars, far from endeavouring to promote peace

and to win over the natives by the preaching of the cross, took part with the garrison, sallied forth to the strife against flesh and blood, sword in hand. Some of them died beneath the hands of the heathen, but not the death of martyrs.

Fernando Vinaigré.

We read again of a secular priest, Fernando Vinaigré by name, whose two weapons, wherewith he carried on the war of the Church against darkness and error, were the sword, and the water of baptism. Both of them he wielded with equal frequency, vigour and success. He wore by turns the armour of the soldier, and the surplice of the priest; nay, sometimes, to perform his sacred ministrations, he put on the latter over the former. He was zealously and effectively aided in his endeavours to proselytize the heathen by the admiral of the fleet, who "is said by the Portuguese historians to be another S. Paul, in governing all that came under his power both with his sword and with his voice—'a sword and a voice,' say they, 'worthy of a glorious eternity[1]'." It is Saul of Tarsus the Pharisee, rather than Paul the Apostle, who is recalled to our minds by the doings of such men.

The futility of such attempts.

This then was the spirit, according to the testimony of Mahometans and of the Portuguese themselves, in which the European power which was first in India endeavoured to propagate Christianity; these were the men, and these were the means which they used. We have for the most part learnt, by this time, that these are not the means which God will bless; and perhaps the day is for ever past when Christian nations, having the power, will endeavour to force the Gospel upon their idolatrous or unbelieving neighbours at the point of the sword. I suppose that this lesson could only be learnt by experience. The Portuguese, as a nation, have had painful proof of its truth; for it is scarcely too much to say, that the blind zeal of their priests and governors in propagandism was the direct cause of the collapse of their power in India. We shall see some clear evidence on this point hereafter. But, apart from their utility in teaching Christendom this lesson, we cannot sufficiently deplore these violent pro-

[1] Geddes. *Church Hist. of Malabar*, p. 28.

ceedings. The prejudice, which these and other circumstances connected with early settlements of Europeans in that land have aroused, has scarcely yet died away. And to this day Christian missionaries, on the western coast and inwards, have often to deplore that (in the words of a recent writer on Indian Missions), "The religious zeal of the Portuguese was not displayed in a fashion so much calculated to win souls to Christ after the manner of the Apostles, as to add kingdoms to Christendom after the fashion of the Crusaders[1]."

The teaching of this history for individuals.

The age of crusades is gone. Nations have learnt that neither their religion nor their customs can be *forced* upon other nations—that the attempt to do it must end in failure and discomfiture for the one race, or in extermination to the other. It is for every Christian man, who is placed in a position of authority, to lay the same truth well to heart. Whether he be governor, magistrate, soldier, or missionary, whilst he never shrinks from the duty which lies upon him, of bearing a clear witness to the truth of his own religion, of using all lawful and gentle means for the extending of the blessings of his religion to those who know them not yet; let him be wary of sowing the deadly seed of prejudice, opposition, hatred, by applying constraint, intimidation, bribery, to induce the profession of that Holy Faith, which can only be held profitably, when it has been embraced voluntarily.

[1] Sir Bartle Frere in *The Church and the Age*, p. 320.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NATIVE CHURCH OF MALABAR.

In the first chapter, mention has been made of the native Christians, whom the Portuguese found in India, and the commencement of their intercourse has been related.

Local situation of the Christians.

These Christians lived in the southern part of the country of Malabar, which, as Michael Geddes tells us, "begins at Cananore, a town in the northern latitude of 11 degrees and 20 minutes, and ends at Cape Comorin, in the northern latitude of $7\frac{2}{3}$ degrees[1]." This country of Malabar was divided into several kingdoms governed by independent heathen princes, the most powerful of whom were the Rajah of Colastra, the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Rajah of Cochin. Under the rule of most of these princes the Christians, as we shall see, enjoyed toleration, and even in some cases distinguished privileges. They were congregated for the most part on the side of the mountain range called the Serra, which separates Malabar from the inland districts. But they were also found in considerable numbers in and around some of the sea-ports.

Tradition of the founding of the church by S. Thomas.

They assigned (and still assign) the origin of their Church to the Apostle S. Thomas, and to this day the spot reported to be his burial-place is pointed out at Madras. Whether S. Thomas actually did preach the Gospel of Christ in India, is a question which we cannot possibly determine. It may be all a mistake, and ingenious conjectures as to the way in which the mistake arose occupy the pages of some historians. But it is possible, after all, that to accept its truth is the most

[1] *Church Hist. of Malabar*, p. 1.

rational way of accounting for the tradition. That tradition was at any rate widely diffused. Not only was it cherished by the Christians of India themselves, but in the ninth century our own Alfred sent an embassy, at the head of which was Sighelm, Bishop of Shireburn, having for one of its objects a visit to the tomb of S. Thomas in India.

Mission of Pantænus, century II.

But, whatever may be thought of this tradition, we have authentic records to shew that in the second century of our era there were Christians in India; or, at any rate, men who, having heard the Gospel message, longed to hear it again. Certain Egyptian sailors, who had been to India, brought back word to Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, that the people who lived on those coasts desired instruction in the Gospel; and, in obedience to the request of his bishop, the learned and eloquent Pantænus went forth to visit and to teach them[1]. Thus is the curtain lifted for a moment, and discloses the infant Indian Church seeking for clearer knowledge and more certain guidance. But it falls again immediately; and for the greater part of two centuries we do not catch even a glimpse of the scene that is passing behind. It is one of the Nicæan prelates, John, Metropolitan of Persia and of the great India, who lifts at length a corner; but only so far as to let us see that, in his day, there was a church in India, over which the Metropolitan of Persia claimed authority.

Frumentius not a bishop of the Indian Church.

The story of Frumentius, related by Ruffinus[2] and others, is supposed by some authors to refer to the history of the Indian Church. But it appears rather to belong to Abyssinia or Ethiopia. Socrates indeed calls the country, which was the scene of his labours, India. But that name was used by the ancients in a very vague and uncertain manner; and there are no circumstances in this story to fix the application of it to India proper, as there are in the history of Pantænus.

[1] The use of the word India by early writers is so lax, that we should not be able to say that the mission of Pantænus was to *our* India, were it not for the account given by Clemens Alexandrinus of the men and manners that he found there.—See Hough, Vol. I. p. 50.

[2] *Hist. Eccles.* I. 9.

Moreover, Athanasius, who, according to the story, consecrated Frumentius, makes mention, in his Apology to the Emperor Constantine, of a bishop of that name who presided over the see of Auxumis, the capital of Ethiopia. It is reasonable therefore to conclude with Fleury[1], Mosheim[2], and others, that Frumentius had nothing to do with the Church of Malabar.

Cosmas, Indicopleustes.

The next witness who tells us anything about this Church is Cosmas, an Alexandrian merchant, called from his travels Indicopleustes. He visited India in the sixth century; and, in the account of his travels, he tells us that he found Christians in the Island of Ceylon, and on the coast of Malabar; and that "at Calliana[3] there is a bishop who comes from Persia, where he is consecrated."

Mar Thomas.

Towards the close of the eighth century, the Indian Church was visited by another merchant, who exercised great influence over its subsequent fortunes. His name was Thomas Cana, and he came from Armenia. The accounts of his doings are somewhat confused; and we scarcely know whether to call him bishop or chieftain. However, he exerted great authority among the Christian communities, and was the means of obtaining considerable amelioration in their condition. Before his time they had been exposed to persecution from the heathen princes; he obtained for them peace and protection. At that time Malabar was under the rule of a single sovereign, a powerful prince of the name of Ceram Peroumal, who, having been originally a viceroy, appointed by the neighbouring King of Chaldesh, had lately seized upon the sovereignty, and maintained himself as an independent Rajah. This prince, though claimed as a convert by the Mahometans, afforded toleration to all his subjects, both heathen and Christian. To the latter he granted many important privileges; and, owing to the protection which he afforded them, the Christians of the Coromandel coasts, who had taken refuge in the hills from the severity of

Ceram Peroumal, Rajah of Malabar.

[1] *Eccles. Hist.* Bk. II. sec. 38.

[2] *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 304.

[3] Perhaps Calianapore, an ancient city near Mangalore.

their own rulers, came and settled under his sway in the districts of Cochin, Cranganore, and Travancore. It was from this prince and his immediate successors that the Christians obtained those civil and social privileges, the charters of which were deposited at Cochin soon after the arrival of the Portuguese. The high consideration in which the Christians of that age were held by their rulers was probably due to the opulence and the character of Thomas Cana. When he died, he left behind two large families of children by his two wives; and these, having extensively intermarried with the other Christians, have given to the whole community the pride of descent from Mar Thomas. It is scarcely possible, however, that the name of this man gave rise to the tradition of S. Thomas the Apostle, as some historians have suggested, since that tradition was known in England, as we have seen, within fifty years of the Armenian merchant's death.

Visit of Mar Sapores and Mar Pheroz.

Early in the tenth century the Indian Church was edified by the visit of two Syrian priests from Babylon, Mar Sapores and Mar Pheroz, sent thither by the Metropolitan of Persia on some ecclesiastical errand. They were very warmly received by the Christians, preached with success to the heathen, under the protection of the Rajah of Travancore, and left so good a name behind them, that they are to this day counted among the protecting saints of the Church of Malabar.

Christians under their own king.

In this century the tide of prosperity in this Indian Church seems to have reached its height. For not only were the Christians blessed with great spiritual privileges, but they became also independent of their heathen governors, and began to enjoy the rule and the protection of a king of their own. This political independence, however, they did not long retain. The last of their kings, having no children, adopted as his heir the Rajah of Diamper; and then the Christians fell again under heathen rule. By means of other subsequent adoptions and divisions of kingdoms, they became in course of time subject to the Rajah of Cochin, and other petty sovereigns.

Summary of the foregoing.

Such is a brief sketch of the testimonies which we have

received concerning the early history of the ancient Christian Church in Southern India. Doubt and obscurity hang about some of the personages and events which have been mentioned, but thus much may be concluded with tolerable certainty. In an early age the Gospel of Christ was preached in India, whether by S. Thomas, or by Christians from Persia or Abyssinia, it is impossible to determine. The effect of this early preaching of the Gospel long remained, either in the form of a settled church, or in the vague but earnest desire of the natives to hear again the Message of Love, which they or their fathers had heard before. Pantænus, the Christian Stoic, probably preached there. In the fourth century there was a Church there under Catholic authority. In the sixth century that Church was organized and flourishing, still subject to the Persian metropolitan. From that time it continued under the same authority, passing, like other Churches, through times of prosperity and depression, both outward and spiritual, but never cut off altogether from the other branches of the Syrian Church.

We must now enquire briefly into the condition—civil, social, and religious—of these Christians at the time when the Portuguese settled in India; taking for our guide, so far as it is attainable, the evidence of contemporary authorities, and supplementing their information, where it seems to be needful, from the results of more recent observations.

The characteristics of the Indian Christians, Physical,

The Syrian Christians are described as the bravest and most active of all the inhabitants of Malabar. In stature they are generally well grown, and in feature and figure comely and graceful. Their colour is lighter than that of the other Indians of the southern part of the peninsula,

Moral.

with the exception of the Brahmins. A very favourable description is given by modern travellers of their moral character. That which most attracts the notice of strangers is their courtesy. They are exceedingly attentive to the fifth commandment, applying it to all those relations of life in which respect and honour seem to be appropriate. With this they combine extreme inquisitiveness, and a decided proneness to the superstitious observance of times and

omens. They are industrious, truthful, and peaceable. This part of their character is noticed with admiration by the Roman missionary, Vincent Marie de S. Catherine de Siéne, who visited them in the middle of the seventeenth century. They are further described as being charitable to the poor, kind to their slaves, temperate in food, and generally sober—only the lowest and most abandoned being addicted to excess in drink. The women are modest and chaste—a state of things which is greatly promoted by their early marriages.

Accusations against their moral character.

Such is the character given of the Syrian Christians in the present day. Some of their good qualities are expressly attested by earlier writers, and there is no reason to suppose that they have changed much within the last three hundred years. Among the charges brought against them by the Roman party in the Synod of Diamper, there were indeed one or two which affected their moral character. Thus they were accused of selling Christian children as slaves, of practising usury, of loosely observing the laws of marriage, and of indulging to excess in a strong liquor called oracca[1]. But it is possible, under the circumstances of that synod, that the faults of a few, and the debauchery of the vilest, were seized upon, perhaps without *intentional* injustice, as a reproach against the whole community. That they were at that time quiet, peaceable and respectable, may safely be concluded from the high regard in which they were held by their heathen rulers.

Their condition: Political,

The rights and privileges, which had been granted to them by Ceram Perouṃal and his successors, were still respected in general by the princes in whose dominions they lived[2]. They enjoyed considerable independence. They maintained a military force of their own. In criminal causes they were amenable to the authority of the Prince or his Prime Minister, but no provincial governor could interfere with them, except by express command from the Sovereign. In civil causes they were subject to the decisions of their own bishops.

Social,

Socially, they ranked

[1] See Acts of the Synod, Session IX.

[2] That there were some exceptions is clear from the address of the Christians to Vasco de Gama.—See above, ch. I.

very high, being superior even to the Naires, the highest class of Kshatryas, and second only to the Brahmins. As marks of their high social standing, they were invested with certain privileges, peculiar to them or to the higher castes. Thus they were permitted to have enclosures in front of their houses, to ride upon elephants, and to sit upon a carpet in the presence of the Prince and his ministers.

Ecclesiastical.

Their ecclesiastical government—which comprehended also, as has been mentioned, the decision of civil causes—was in the hands of a single bishop. The bishop was assisted by an archdeacon, the only other dignitary of the Church; who acted, in his absence, as his vicar-general. The diocese was of considerable extent, and comprehended at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as we learn from La Croze[1], about one thousand four hundred churches, and as many towns or villages.

Originally subject to the Patriarch of Antioch.

We have seen that at the time of the Council of Nice, and in the days of Cosmas, the Indian Church was subject in ecclesiastical matters to the Metropolitan of Persia. Under the settlement of Church government and governors, which was made when Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, the Persian Church, in common with all the other Churches in the East, was placed under the patriarchate of Antioch. And this arrangement continued after the Council of Nice, unless we are to believe the Arabic canons of that Council, according to which the see of Seleucia was then made independent of that of Antioch[2].

Rise of the (Nestorian) patriarchate of Seleucia or Babylon.

This Seleucia is the city which was built by Seleucus I., King of Syria, on the banks of the Tigris, at the distance of about forty miles from the ancient Babylon, close to the village of Ctesiphon, and not far from the modern Bagdad. Its site is now occupied by the village of Al Modain. The bishop of this city, under the Catholic regimen, held the office and dignity of metropolitan; but there is no good reason to suppose that he was independent of the Patri-

[1] Quoted by Hough, i. 235.

[2] Canon xxxiii. Arab.

arch of Antioch[1]. When, however, the heresy of Nestorius broke out, and he with all who would not anathematize him, were declared excommunicate, the Archbishop of Seleucia became the head of that sect, and was acknowledged by all the Nestorian Churches as their Patriarch.

History of the Nestorian schism.

The following account of the origin of this great schism is taken from the writings of Mar Abd Yeshua, Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, A.D. 1298[2]:—"About 100 years after this (the Council of Nice) a dispute arose between Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Mar Nestorius, Patriarch of Byzantium, respecting the Incarnate Word. In the confession of the Trinity all Christians agree, for all receive the Nicene Creed, which Creed confesses that the Trinity is coequal in essence, dignity, power and will; and all confess of Christ that he is perfect God and perfect Man, being fully persuaded thereof by the declarations of the Gospels, of S. Paul, and of the 318 fathers. The dispute, which now arose, respected the manner of the union and the words used to express it. Cyril maintained that we ought to call the Virgin 'Mother of God,' and wrote 12 sentences, excommunicating all who should in any way draw a distinction between the divinity and humanity of Christ after the union. Nestorius replied to these sentences, and showed that they were erroneous; and with respect to the appellation 'Mother of God,' he argued that it did not exist in the writings of the Prophets or Apostles." The writer here sets forth part of the argument. The Virgin ought neither to be called "Mother of God" nor "Mother of Man," but "Mother of Christ." He then proceeds: "From this time commenced the division of the Church; some following Nestorius, while others went after Cyril, both parties mutually anathematizing each other;

Difference between Nestorius and Cyril.

[1] There is, however, a letter preserved among the Nestorians, purporting to have been written in the year 205 or 240 (authorities differ) by the four western patriarchs in which they acknowledge the independence of the Metropolitan of Seleucia, and commission him to consecrate bishops and archbishops. He was to be elected by the bishops of the province, and need not go to Antioch for consecration. Probably this letter is a forgery.

See Badger, *Nestorians and their Ritual*, Vol. I. p. 137.

[2] See Badger, I. 397.

from which resulted sects, and the slaughter, exile, imprisonment and persecution of the fathers, such as had never been before, as is fully recorded in histories of Irenæus, Bishop of Tyre. After this, tumult and discord went on increasing, until the zealous and Christ-like Marcian undertook to convene the great Council of the 632 in the town of Chalcedon. * * * This Council confirmed the confession that there are two natures in Christ, distinct in the attributes of each, and also two wills; and anathematized all who should speak of mixture, which destroys the two natures. But, because in Greek there is no difference between the meaning of the words Person and Parsopa (*πρόσωπον*), they confessed but one 'Person' in Christ. And when the party of Cyril was not satisfied with the expression 'two natures,' and the party of Nestorius with the expression 'one person,' an imperial edict was issued, declaring all who did not consent to this doctrine degraded from their dignity. Some were made to submit through compulsion, but some maintained their opinions."

Council of Chalcedon. 632

Monophysites or Jacobites.

"Christianity thus became divided into three sects: the first confessing One Nature and One Person in Christ, which doctrine is held by the Copts, Egyptians, and Abyssinians, after the tradition of Cyril their Patriarch; and this is called the Jacobite sect from a certain Syrian doctor called Jacob, who laboured zealously to spread the doctrines of Cyril among the Syrians and Armenians."

Catholics or Melchites.

"The second sect are those who confess the doctrine of two natures and One Person in Christ; and these are called 'Melchites,' because it was imposed forcibly by the King. This is the doctrine which is received by the Romans, called Franks, and by the Constantinopolitans, who are Greeks, and by all the people of the West." * * *

Nestorians.

"The third sect, which confesses two Natures and two Persons in Christ, is called the sect of the Nestorians. As to the Easterns, however, because they never changed their faith, but kept it as they received it from the Apostles, they were unjustly styled Nestorians, since Nestorius was not their patriarch, neither did they understand his language; but

when they heard that he taught the doctrine of the two Natures and the two Persons, one Son of God, one Christ, and that he confessed the orthodox Faith; they bore witness to him because they themselves held the same Faith. Nestorius, then, followed them, and not they him; and that more especially in the matter of the appellation, 'Mother of Christ.' Therefore, when called upon to excommunicate him, they refused, maintaining that their excommunication of Nestorius would be equivalent to an excommunication of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the Holy Apostles." * * *

Stricture on the above history.

Besides a very pardonable assertion of apostolicity for the doctrines of his own communion, and the studied omission of all mention of the Council of Ephesus, there is to be noticed here the injustice which the archbishop does to the memory of S. Cyril, in attributing to him the extreme doctrines of the Monophysites. For though the mind of that father clearly inclined to that side of Catholic truth, which asserted positively the oneness of Christ's person; and though his language in several places[1] seems to give colour to the charge against him of confounding the substance of Christ; yet he himself, in his second letter to Nestorius, asserts the "hypostatical union[2]" of the two Natures, which is different from the union, by transubstantiation of the human into the Divine, which is held by the Jacobites. In like manner Abd Yeshua, in common with the Catholic writers, attributes to Nestorius the doctrine of two Persons in Christ, which was held by many of those who espoused his cause; but which, though his language seemed at times to imply it, he himself is thought to have disavowed[3]. In his letter to Pope Cælestine[4], Nestorius declares that his dispute with Cyril was merely a dispute about words. And such indeed it

[1] Notably in the twelve Anathemas. See Fleury, *Ecclesiastical History*, xxv. 21.

[2] S. Cyril himself explains this phrase, "The union of the two Natures effected by the second Person of the Trinity within Itself, and essentially, yet without confusion."—*De Trinitate*, 24 c, quoted in Fleury, xxv. 8, note m, Oxford edition, 1844.

[3] See Mosheim, Vol. i. pp. 474, 475.

[4] Quoted by Fleury, *Ecclesiastical History*, xxv. 28.

seems in the beginning to have been; but the controversy, which might have been allayed by a friendly conference and mutual explanations, was embittered by mutual jealousy and rash anathemas, until it became the seed of a heresy, and the occasion of a great schism.

The Bishop (patriarch) of Seleucia, head of this schism.

This schism, as I have mentioned, had its head at Seleucia in the early times; but afterwards, under the rule of the Caliphs, the seat of the patriarchate was removed to Bagdad, and afterwards to Mosul, the ancient Nineveh. Thus the patriarchs are styled sometimes of Seleucia, sometimes of Mosul; but most commonly, since the district in which they lived and over which they exercised episcopal functions, was the ancient Babylonia, they were called Patriarchs of Babylon.

The Indian Church Nestorian.

When the Metropolitan of Persia acknowledged the authority of these Nestorian patriarchs, the Christians of India, being subject to his authority, were, as a matter of course, reckoned among the Nestorian Churches, and acknowledged the Patriarch of Babylon as their patriarch; and, as a matter of course also, receiving their bishops and some of their clergy from Babylon or Persia, they were in time imbued with Nestorian doctrines. Cosmas, in his account of them, expressly asserts that they were Nestorians, and held the doctrine of the two Persons. At present, and for a long time back, they hold, and have held, doctrines more akin to Monophysism, and are always ready to disclaim the errors of Nestorius. In a written statement delivered by their metropolitan, early in the present century, to the British Resident at the Court of Travancore, express disavowal is made among other "heresies" of the doctrines of Nestorius and "the Chalcedonians[1]." Accordingly, doubts are raised, by some historians, as to their Nestorianism at the time when

Now Jacobite.

[1] Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, p. 27, Foy's edition.

Rev. J. Mullens, however, in his account of "Missions in South India" (London, 1854), asserts that their doctrines "resemble still those of the Nestorian Churches in Mesopotamia," but he also states that "they look for their bishop from Mosul or Mardin where the patriarch of that Church resides." Mardin or Merdin is the residence of the Jacobite Patriarch of Syria.

the Portuguese became acquainted with them[1]. It is very probable, indeed, that the peculiarity of Babylonian doctrine may not have taken any very deep root in them; but, that their ritual was decidedly tainted with that heresy, there is abundant evidence[2]. We shall see some traces of it as we go on.

The religious condition of the Christians of S. Thomas. Evidence from the Synod of Diamper.

The internal condition of the Church of Malabar in the sixteenth century is known to us chiefly through the statements of those who certainly had a strong motive for finding out and exaggerating its faults, and who may be suspected, at least, of that unintentional misrepresentation which it is so difficult entirely to avoid. Among the accusations which were brought against these Christians at the Synod of Diamper, the following seem to deserve notice.

False doctrines.

Together with the false doctrines of Nestorius, they are represented as holding the transmigration of souls, as believing in immutable decrees of fate, and as teaching that "every man may be saved by his own law" or sect[3]. The two former doctrines it is not unlikely that they may have derived from their neighbours, the Hindus and Mahometans respectively. The last is, perhaps, nothing more than an exaggerated representation of the protests of this harassed people, that Romanism was good for Romans, but their own religion was good for them.

It is alleged, further, that it was taught and preached among them, that "it is a grievous sin so much as to think

[1] See Hough, I. 86.

[2] They were said (at the Synod of Diamper) to keep days in honour of heretics, among whom are mentioned Nestorius, Diodorus, Theodorus, Barsumas, Hormisdas, Joseph the Seer, and many others whose names are found in the list of Nestorian writers given by Abd Yeshua in his Index of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Writings (Badger, *Nestorians and their Ritual*, Vol. II.).

Among the books ordered to be burnt were the "Margarita Fidei" of Abd Yeshua, the Book of Orders, which contained prayers for those converted to Nestorianism, the book of Hormisda Rabban, the Great Breviary, which affirmed that Christ did not assume flesh, the "Rhudra" or Greater Breviary, in which it is everywhere said that there are two persons in Christ.

[3] Acts of the Synod, Session III. Decree 4.—Hough or Geddes.

or speak of our Saviour's Holy Passion[1]." This seems strangely inconsistent with the enthusiasm with which they are said to have celebrated the adoration of the Cross. It is an error more nearly akin to the doctrines of the Monophysites than of the Nestorians; and it may be that, even at that time, there were some Jacobites in the Serra who taught it.

Neglect of baptism.

It is said again that there were here and there whole villages, whose inhabitants, though they were called Christians, had never been baptized; and that there was generally great looseness in the administration of this Sacrament[2].

Simony.

The bishops and clergy were accused of having practised simony, in administering the Sacraments for money[3]. We shall see, hereafter, an example of the readiness with which this brand of simony was put upon the doings of the Syrian Cattanars by the Roman archbishop.

Neglect of public worship.

It is said that many Christians in the country only went to church once a year, that is, on the three days before Lent, and then only to fill their bellies.

Heathen customs.

The Christians were charged with using heathen exorcisms, and observing superstitions about days taken out of heathen books[4]. Christian schoolmasters were said to set up idols in their schools for the use of their heathen scholars[5].

Ill repute of the clergy.

Against the clergy many accusations were laid; as that they were immoderate in eating and drinking; that they were engaged in trade; that they married frequently, and married widows[6]. They were also said to have been very ignorant, to have neglected their churches, and to have been careless about the instruction of the people in their native tongue. They neglected missionary effort[7]. The church of Travan-

[1] Acts of the Synod, Session III. Decree 5.

[2] Ib. Session IV. Decrees 3, 4.

[3] Ib. passim.

[4] Ib. Session VII. Decrees 9, 10.

[5] Ib. Session III. Decree 13.

[6] It is so among the Nestorians of Mesopotamia, only the highest order —bishops and archbishops—are forbidden to marry at all.—See Badger, *Nestorians and their Ritual*, II. 178.

[7] Ib. Session VII. passim.

core they permitted to lie in ruins, until most of the Christians had turned heathen[1].

Corruptions of Scripture.

They are further charged with having corrupted Scripture, especially with a view to the defence of Nestorian doctrine[2]. Thus, in 1 John iv. their copies omitted the verse, "Qui solvit Jesum non est ex Deo"[3]. In Acts xx. 28, they had "Church of Christ," for "Church of God," to avoid the doctrine of God suffering[4]. In 1 John iii. 16, they have "love of Christ" for "love of God"[5]. In Heb. ii. 9, they had "the grace of God," instead of "he, by the grace of God"[6]. Other corruptions are alleged, which seem to have no reference to Nestorian error. One there was, which was used as a plea for usury. In S. Luke vi. 35, they read, "Lend, and from thence hope for something." The story of the woman taken in adultery in S. John viii. was omitted, as it is in most Syriac copies. In S. Luke x., they had "seventy disciples" for "seventy-two," the reading of a few manuscripts and the Vulgate. Most of their copies omitted the books of Esther, Tobit and Wisdom, and, in the New Testament, the 2nd Epistle of Peter, the 2nd and 3rd of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revela-

[1] Ib. Session VIII. Decree 6.

[2] Ib. Session III. Decree 2.

[3] "Whoso separateth Jesus is not of God." This is the Vulgate rendering of the old reading ὁ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν, for ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τ. Ἰ., which, though it is not found in any existing Greek manuscripts, was read by Irenæus and Origen, and is mentioned by Socrates as the reading of old MSS.—See Alford in loco.

[4] Some old MSS. read "the Church of the Lord," and the question between this and the received reading (Vulgate and English) may be regarded as still undecided.

[5] Neither word is expressed in the MSS. It is simply "love."—"Hereby we know love."

[6] If they really had "the grace of God should taste death," some of their copyists shared the curious mistake of Thomas Aquinas and Primasius (if the Syrian language leaves room for such a mistake), who in the sentence "Ut gratia Dei gustaret mortem," took "gratia" for the nominative instead of the ablative (Alford in loc.). How such a reading can have arisen out of the old and favourite Nestorian reading, χωρὶς for χάριτι, does not appear. May we say that this is a mistake of the Latin priests who examined the Syriac Bibles in Malabar?

tion[1]. The text of the three witnesses was left out in 1 John v.

Confirmation unknown to them.

From the decrees of the same synod we learn that the ordinance of Confirmation was unknown to them. Immediately after baptism, the body of the child was anointed all over with oil, and they considered that nothing further was needed for the admission of the young Christian into full communion with the Church. In this custom and opinion they agreed with the Nestorians of Babylon at the present day[2].

No private confession. Three sacraments. Two orders.

We learn further that they did not practise auricular confession, that they had only three sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Ordination, and only two orders of clergy, priests and deacons, their bishops being regarded, it is to be presumed, as priests holding a higher office.

Free from the error of transubstantiation.

They did not hold the doctrine of transubstantiation; for it is said in their book of Homilies that, "The Holy Eucharist is only the Image of Christ, distinguished from Him as an image is from a true man; and that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is not there, nor anywhere else but in heaven[3]." In the office for priests departed, it was sung that "In the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar there is only the virtue of Christ, but not His true Body and Blood." This is contrary to the teaching of the Nestorians of Babylon, who, though the word transubstantiation be unknown to them, hold a real change of the elements. Thus, Abd Yeshua (*The Jewel*, IV. 5), says, "Wherever we approach these sacraments, we meet with Christ Himself, and His very self we take into our hands and kiss, and thereby we are joined to and with Christ, His holy Body mixing with our bodies, and His pure Blood mingling with our blood; and by faith we know Him that is in Heaven and Him that is in the Church to be but one Body."

[1] The Revelation is not found in any Nestorian copies, and the other books are very rare.—Badger, II. 87.

Abd Yeshua in his catalogue mentions only "the three Epistles of James, Peter and John."—Id. Appendix.

[2] See Badger, II. 153.

[3] Synod of Diamper, Session III. Decree 14.

No Images.

The Christians of S. Thomas had no images in their churches; nor does it appear that they practised the invocation of saints, until they caught the habit, in the early days of the Portuguese settlement, from their Romanist neighbours.

Such is the chief evidence as to the condition of Christian doctrine and practice amongst the Christians of S. Thomas, furnished by the statements of the Portuguese prelate who visited them.

Other characteristics. Gleaned from the history.

From the history of their dealings with him, we learn that they cherished a strong love of religious liberty, and that whilst they reverenced their own patriarch, and desired to remain in communion with the Church of Babylon, they were very willing to receive in brotherly fellowship the members of other Churches. In the course of the same history, we find that they possessed one undoubted primitive custom, which was in a very early age discontinued in the greater part of the Church Catholic. This was the Narché, or Feast of Charity, held immediately after the celebration of the Holy Communion on Easter-day. The feast was kept with the simplicity of apostolic times. The provisions were of the plainest kind, consisting of rice and vegetables. No beverage was permitted, except water. The tables were spread in the church-porch, where the bishop, if he were present, or, in his absence, the senior priest, presided, and blessed the food. The division of the feast was then made—to the bishop a treble, to the clergy a double, and to the laity a single portion.

Evidence of Nestorian missionaries.

One more morsel of evidence claims to be heard. This is contained in a letter written to the Patriarch of Babylon by four missionaries, whom he sent to Malabar in the year 1502[1]. They say, "There are here about thirty thousand Christian families, united to us in faith, and praying the Lord to preserve your life. The faithful have begun building new churches; they are in the enjoyment of abundance, and are peaceful and gentle in disposition. Blessed be the Lord!"

[1] Quoted by M. l'Abbé Huc, *Christianity in China*, &c., II. 21.

General conclusions.

We shall probably do the Church of Malabar in the sixteenth century no great injustice, if we accept, on the strength of the above evidence, some such account of its spiritual condition as follows. It preserved much primitive simplicity both of doctrine and ritual, but was heterodox upon the subject of our Lord's Incarnation, and moreover had derived from the heathen and unbelievers around some other corruptions of doctrine. A remnant there was in it, no doubt, of earnest, pure, God-loving and God-fearing men; but there were many abuses and much spiritual sloth. Though they were more truthful than their neighbours, there was a tendency in them to do evil in falsehood that good might come. There was much laxity of Christian living amongst both clergy and people. Missionary zeal, which sheds such a glory upon the early history of the Nestorian churches, was dead amongst them. Their public services, being conducted in the unknown tongue of Syria, and by priests who were, for the most part, examples of coldness and inactivity, were unable to inspire the people with that fervour of religious feeling, which is the mark of a living Church. A stirring and quickening of the dry bones was greatly needed. Perhaps the troubles which shortly came upon them were permitted for a discipline.

CHAPTER V.

EFFORTS OF THE PORTUGUESE TO ANNEX THE CHURCH OF MALABAR TO ROME.

The earlier settlers had no dealings with the Malabar Christians.

THE dealings of the Portuguese settlers in India with the native Christians of Malabar, so far as they have appeared in these pages, have hitherto been confined to certain complimentary relations of a political character. The religious institutions of the two races have not yet appeared in opposition, scarcely in contact. The earliest of the Portuguese missionaries troubled themselves little, as we have seen, either about heathen or Mahometans, or about Christians of another communion. They were otherwise employed than in the work of evangelization. Xavier, on the other hand, found too much employment among the idolators and the nominal Christians on the southern coast to interfere in any way with the more enlightened Christians in Malabar.

This could not continue.

But it was not to be expected that this acquiescence of Roman ecclesiastics in the existence of an independent Church in their immediate neighbourhood could long continue. The papal pretensions to the supremacy of Christendom must ever render those who accept those pretensions intolerant of independent Churches; the zeal of such for the honour of their own communion, nay, their zeal for religion itself, must always be displayed in an endeavour to subjugate, or to proselytize, any Christians who refuse obedience to the Roman pontiff. In Europe, in the 16th century, the supremacy which they maintained was denied by many. Hence the zeal of those who still maintained it was the more inflamed, and every opportunity was eagerly seized for asserting it. No wonder, then, that the Portuguese ecclesiastics—

good sons of their mother Church—should be anxious to make it felt in that part of India over which their influence could be exercised.

The question of papal authority over the Serra must be referred to the larger question.

It would not be very profitable to enter here into a discussion of the grounds of that claim of authority which the popes and their supporters asserted over the Church of the Serra. To those who believe that our Lord gave the supreme government of His Church to S. Peter, and that the bishops of Rome are the true and lawful successors of that Apostle in this supreme government, there can be no difficulty whatever. In the eyes of such, the Christians of India, as well as all other Christians in all other places, were rightfully subject to the pope's decrees. And, if they refused to acknowledge their subjection, they were rebels and schismatics. To bring them back to their true allegiance by all lawful means, was a work of Christian charity. But in the eyes of those, on the other hand, who can find no traces in the New Testament of any such exaltation of S. Peter above the other apostles as is alleged, and who regard the pretended succession of the popes to his prerogative (whatever it was) as an idle tale, the existence of Churches, like that of Malabar, which are not only actually independent of Rome, but whose independence can be traced back to primitive times[1], is in itself a confirmation of their opinions, affording a direct contradiction to the pretensions which they deny. In the eyes of such, the aggressive policy of the Roman ecclesiastics towards the members of these independent Churches is altogether without justification. In the presence of so fundamental a difference, it seems idle to discuss that alleged submission to the Roman see by certain prelates who came from Babylon about the middle of the 16th century[2], which is so loudly vaunted by Romanists and so eagerly denied or invalidated by Protestants. Even if these men were real bishops of the Chaldæan Church, it does not appear that

[1] It was acknowledged at the Synod of Diamper that this Church had been independent for 1200 years. Action of the synod, Act v. Decree 1, "Concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass."

[2] See Geddes, *Hist. of Church of Malabar*, p. 12, and ff.

bishop or archbishop can, by his own single profession, barter or give away the liberties of his fellow-Christians.

The Malabars were heretics.

There is indeed another point of view, from which we might regard the attempt of the Portuguese to bring the Malabar Christians into the Roman communion. This Church, as we have already seen, was tainted with the Nestorian heresy. The whole of these proceedings, therefore, might be considered as an attempt to reclaim heretics from their errors. It is true that false doctrine does not appear to have been regarded by the Romanists as their chief offence, but rather the refusal to acknowledge the pope as the supreme head of the whole Church. It is true also that, in purging the Malabar pulpits and service-books, the Roman priests brought in other errors, which to some appear more pernicious than the mild Nestorianism which was driven out. Moreover, there were worse things in and around the Portuguese dominions in India than the heresy of the Two Persons; there were vice, and ignorance, and degraded superstition, and the horrid cruelties of heathenism. Even among the Christians of Malabar themselves, a revival of hearty religion as applied to the life, a quickening of Christian zeal, were more to be desired even than the confession of the Ephesian creed. But if, in this point of view, the conduct of the Latin Christians towards the Chaldæan seems to any one more excusable, by all means let it be taken. Let us allow that, though the means which were used in the reorganization, under the pope, of the Malabar Church were not such as *our* Christianity can approve, yet they who employed them were not actuated solely by the desire to proselytize independent Christians to their own communion, but that they were also kindled with zeal for purity of doctrine and for the honour of the Saviour's name.

Mission of Vincent.

The first effort in this direction was made in the year 1545. In that year a Franciscan friar, Vincent, was sent by the Archbishop of Goa as a missionary to Malabar. This man is called by the Portuguese historian "a great servant of God," and appears to have been a man of much zeal and activity. For the greater part of a year he preached almost

daily in various parts of the Serra. He caused also a number of churches to be built after the Latin model; the native churches being, in his opinion, too like heathen pagodas to be suitable for Christian worship.

He founds a college at Cranganore.

Then, in the year 1546—perhaps despairing of making much progress among the older people, who were in general firmly attached to their ancient doctrines and practices—he founded a college at Cranganore, in which native Christian youths were to be educated by Roman priests. In one way Vincent's college was successful; for many of the Malabars sent their sons thither, and some of these were ordained priests of the Roman Church. But, if the promoters of this scheme thought to gain any hold upon the community at large by means of these young men, they were disappointed. The congregations had paid little regard to the Portuguese priests; they paid still less to these Romanized Indians. Indeed, being now awake to the real object of Vincent and his companions, whom they had at first received with all kindness and attention, they began to shut the doors of their churches upon them, and upon all that savoured of the college at Cranganore.

The Jesuits establish a college at Vaipicotta.

The Franciscans had failed. The absorption of the native Church was next attempted by the Jesuits. In the year 1587 they established a college for the education of young Malabars at Chanota, called also Vaipicotta, a village about three miles distant from Cranganore. It appeared to them that the failure of the Franciscans to win the favour of the people was due to the fact that they had not taught the Syriac language—to the use of which, in their public services, the Indians were greatly attached. Accordingly, at Vaipicotta Latin and Syriac were both taught. It appears also that the Jesuits made other compromises with the principles of the people. For whilst they taught their pupils to pray for the Pope as supreme head of the Church, they suffered them also to mention in their petitions the Patriarch of Babylon, whom their Church regarded as a heretic[1]. All, however, was of no avail. For when these young men whom

[1] See Geddes, p. 50.

they instructed were ordained and sent out among their kinsmen as Latin priests, they did not dare to utter a word against the ancient doctrines of their Church, or to make any change in the public services.

Failure of these attempts.

Such was the small success which attended the judicious attempts of the Franciscans and the Jesuits to introduce Romanism into the Serra. These Christians of Malabar did not open their arms to receive a new spiritual father so eagerly as some had anticipated. The honour, however, of the papal hierarchy was by this time at stake; to retire would be a confession of weakness. Nor is it, perhaps, altogether uncharitable to suppose that in the minds of the Portuguese priests and statesmen, who had taken the matter up, other motives were at work besides those of religion. It was of the utmost importance that the Portuguese power in India should be strengthened as much as possible, both against the native princes, and against the attempts of other European nations to establish a trade upon those coasts. The Christians were of all the inhabitants of Malabar the bravest; and, in the struggles of the native princes with one another, always turned the scale. If they could be bound by community of religious interests to the cause of the Portuguese, these would be the better able to maintain their ground. As a matter of fact, they were no doubt alienated rather than conciliated by the policy which was adopted towards them. But there is not the less reason to believe that this purpose weighed in the minds of some at any rate of those who promoted that policy.

Motives for perseverance.

Interference with episcopal authority.

Rome and Portugal had already begun to meddle with the government of the native Christians. At the time when that interference was initiated the episcopal authority was in the hands of an energetic prelate named Joseph. He is said, by the Portuguese historian, to have corrected many abuses in his diocese, and to have ruled with much vigour. The same historian tells us how a plot was laid by the Bishop of Cochin[1] to convict him of heresy. He was permitted to take into his service some Portuguese youths,

Mar Joseph.

[1] Gouvea, III. 17.

whom he carefully instructed in their religious duties. He taught them, however, that, in their prayers to the Virgin, they were by no means to call her "Mother of God," but "Mother of Christ." Here, then, from beneath the cloak of Latinism, which it appears that Joseph had assumed, appeared the old Nestorian cloven foot. And the Portuguese authorities lost no time in making use of the opportunity, which they thought was thus presented to them, of depriving the flock of its shepherd. Orders were sent forthwith to the Bishop of Cochin to have him arrested and sent to Goa; and soon the unfortunate prelate found himself, against his will, sailing across the seas to Portugal. By what right, political or ecclesiastical, this constraint was put upon his person, does not appear. Doubtless those who did this thought that, having the power, it was their duty to use it, with or without the sanction of law, to promote what they conceived to be the good of the Church. Arrived at Lisbon, Mar Joseph contrived to win the favour of the Queen Regent and the Infanta, from whom he obtained permission to return to India, carrying with him letters to the viceroy and the archbishop, ordering them to permit him to live quietly in his bishopric. It appears, indeed, that these favours were not obtained without some address, not to say dissimulation, on the part of Joseph. We are told, in fact, that he actually promised the Cardinal legate, Don Henry, that he would do all that lay in his power to reduce his diocese to the Roman obedience[1]. In the meantime the Christians in Malabar, finding themselves left without a bishop, had sent to Mar Simeon, the Patriarch, to ask for another. Accordingly, one Abraham was consecrated, and sent to take charge of the bereaved Church. He found some difficulty in reaching his diocese, for the Portuguese authorities were at great pains to stop him. But when at length he arrived, he was received by the waiting people with unbounded demonstrations of joy. Not long afterwards Joseph returned to Goa, much to the chagrin of those who had shipped him for Portugal, hoping to see his face no more. His letters, however, were far too

He is sent to Portugal.

He returns to India.

Another bishop appointed.

[1] Geddes, p. 12.

authoritative to be disregarded, so he was suffered to return to his home. He found his authority acknowledged by only a small portion of the Christians. The majority clung to Abraham as their bishop, refusing to obey one who had had so much to do with the aggressive Roman Church. The spectacle of a schism in the Serra was probably an agreeable one to those who were so intently watching at Goa the progress of affairs; for it seemed to promise an easier success for their scheme of annexation. And when messengers arrived from Mar Joseph, carrying complaints of his rival as an usurper, and as a bitter enemy of the Roman Church, their hopes rose still higher. Action was immediately taken. Mar Abraham is arrested, by the assistance of the Rajah of Cochin (who here appears for the first time as a party to these ecclesiastical proceedings), and finds himself in his turn on board a vessel bound for Portugal. His story is an eventful one. At Mozambique he escapes and makes his way to Babylon. The patriarch confirms him in possession of the Indian see, and sends him forth again with new briefs. Knowing, however, that the briefs of the Patriarch of Babylon would secure him no immunity from the Portuguese, he conceived the bold design of going to Rome and obtaining the Pope's permission to return to his diocese. In this project of Mar Abraham there seems to be somewhat of a surrender on his part of the independence of his Church. Yet it is not easy to see what course could have been devised with a fairer promise of securing its integrity. It could only be secured under a bishop whose title the people would acknowledge. And it was perfectly clear that the Portuguese would not suffer such a bishop to govern his diocese in peace, unless they were constrained by some authority which they would recognize. Abraham found, however, that so slight a sacrifice of his Church's independence as he had contemplated could gain no advantage for him or his diocese from the Roman pontiff. If he had dreamt of receiving permission to go and govern the Christians of Malabar under the authority of his own patriarch, he soon found that his hope was utterly vain. Then, yielding to the temptation

Schism in the Serra.

Mar Abraham is arrested.

Escapes.

Goes to Rome.

Submits to the pope.

which came upon him to secure his own place and dignity at any cost, he cast his honour to the winds, betrayed the independence of his Church, and the prerogative of his patriarch, and submitted to the Pope in all things. It is a shameful story that we read; shameful to Abraham himself, shameful also to those who by their machinations had broken his spirit and made him crawl so meanly. In the presence of the Pope he abjures his faith, renounces his ecclesiastical allegiance, promises to make his Indian flock subject to Rome; and, in return, receives briefs confirming him in his see, and

Is re-ordained.

giving him the title of archbishop. Then, stooping still lower, he submitted to be re-ordained, and was finally re-consecrated bishop at Venice by the archbishop of that place. How this re-consecration of one who had already received the Pope's briefs as bishop is to be reconciled with the belief in papal infallibility, the authors who relate it do not tell us; nor is the question perhaps worth the attention of modern dogmatists.

Conduct of Mar Joseph.

Meanwhile in Malabar the schism is still maintained. Abraham's archdeacon refuses to acknowledge the authority of Joseph, and is supported by a large body of priests and people. Joseph himself has forgotten the promises he made at Lisbon. He still teaches the old doctrines, and makes no attempt to bring his people into subjection to the Pope. Intelligence of this is quickly carried to Pius V., who on the 15th of January, 1567, issues orders for his apprehension that he may answer for his errors at Rome. He makes

His death.

his former voyage over again, reaches Rome, and dies. So fell the first Indian prelate who had the misfortune to be brought into conflict with the Roman Church. How far his ruin was hastened by his own use of dishonourable expedients, we cannot tell. Whilst we lament his weakness and his falsehood, we cannot help reflecting that, as he had been a good pastor to his people, so he would probably have continued if he had been left in peace to govern his own lawful charge.

Return of Mar Abraham.

Whilst Joseph was yet upon the seas, Mar Abraham arrived at Goa. The archbishop, suspicious of his integrity,

jealous it may be also of his dignity, detained him there until confirmation of his authority should be obtained from Rome. He escapes, however, and reappears among his people, to their great joy. Orders were at once sent to the commander at Cochin to have him apprehended; but Abraham knew by this time what dangers lurked for Chaldæan bishops in that neighbourhood, and took care not to be seen there. His first step was to re-ordain all his clergy according to the Roman ordinal. The ostensible objection brought by the Romans against the orders of the Babylonian Church was that there was no wine in the cup which was put into the hands of the priests; a very small occasion, as Geddes remarks, for the invalidating of the orders of a whole Church. Whether Abraham was convinced that this was sufficient to render null the orders of his clergy, or whether he hereby satisfied his conscience in reference to the promises which he had made at Rome, is not clear. In no other way, at any rate, did he attempt the introduction of Roman ritual or doctrine in his diocese. Whether he had meant all the professions of conformity which he had made at Rome, or whether he saved his steadfastness at the expense of his honesty, as some Romanist writers declare[1], seems to be of little consequence. His whole conduct at this period one would gladly forget.

He re-ordains his clergy. Question of the validity of their orders.

He is speedily called to account. Gregory XIII. summons him to attend a provincial council at Goa. There he makes his appearance, afraid, it is likely, to stay away; repeats his abjuration of Nestorianism and Babylon; and, returning to the Serra, ordains for the third time all the priests of his diocese. This single sop he throws to the Cerberus of the council, but, in all else, he acts and teaches as before. He writes to his patriarch to explain and justify his acts. He declares that he delivered at the council a profession of faith which none of the Latin bishops could understand; that he still holds and teaches Chaldæan doctrines. This letter never reached the Patriarch, for the Portuguese took possession of it on the way.

Abraham attends a council at Goa.

He writes to the patriarch.

[1] See Hough, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, i. 259.

Mar Simeon is appointed his co-adjutor.

Mar Abraham was by this time growing old, and time and his troubles were preying upon his strength. So he applied to the Patriarch for a coadjutor, and a young priest named Simeon was consecrated and sent out to India. This was the signal for a second schism. For Simeon, finding Abraham unpopular on account of his dalliance with Rome, and himself popular on account of that unpopularity, was tempted to set himself up as a rival to his diocesan. He assumes the style of "Bishop of India," and fixes his residence at Carturté. The rival prelates excommunicate one another. Abraham requests the interference of the Portugese. A plot is laid for Simeon, who is persuaded to go to Rome to have his authority confirmed by the Pope. At Rome he is examined by the Inquisition. Sixtus V. pronounces him a layman. He is sent back to Philip II., now King of Portugal, and by him is committed to the charge of Don Alexio de Menezes, who was soon to go out as Archbishop of Goa. In a Franciscan convent at Lisbon, which became his prison, he died; when, we know not. His fate seems to have followed so naturally upon his ambitious devices against Mar Abraham, that we can scarcely avoid the reflection that the one was a punishment for the other. Yet it may well be thought also that, even if he had remained in his proper position as coadjutor, he would still have been entangled in the meshes of that net which was spread for his Church, and, in some way or other, would have lost his use and his good name.

Second schism in the Serra.

Simeon goes to Rome.

His death.

Mar Abraham renounces his connexion with Rome.

In the year 1590, the Archbishop of Goa called a provincial council, to which he summoned Mar Abraham. But that prelate, weary of his intercourse with the Latins, and knowing well how ill he had observed the promises which he made at the former council, refused to be present, and sent for answer a proverb current in his country, "A cat that is once bitten by a snake is afraid of a cord[1]." After this he attempted no longer to keep on good terms with Rome, but publicly avowed his allegiance to Babylon.

Archbishop Menezes

And now appears upon the scene in India the man, who,

[1] Curiously rendered by Geddes, "A cat that bites a snake is afraid of her cord."

by his courage, energy, and indomitable perseverance, at length achieved that subjugation of the Church in Malabar, upon which the Portuguese and the popes had by this time set their hearts. The new Archbishop of Goa sailed for India early in the year 1595, bringing authority from Pope Clement VIII. to enquire into the crimes and errors of Mar Abraham, and, if he found him guilty, to place him in confinement. He was directed further to appoint a vicar-general over the diocese, who was to be of the Roman communion, and by no means to suffer any prelate professing to come from the Patriarch of Babylon to enter the Serra. The Archbishop of Goa then is not alone responsible for the violence and injustice which follow. The subjection of the Malabar Christians is already decreed at Rome. The act of usurpation, as it must appear to all who do not acknowledge the universal supremacy of the popes, is virtually complete.

goes to India.

Menezes lost no time in obeying the Pope's directions. He condemns Abraham, but does not require his presence at Goa. Hearing that a request had gone from the whole diocese to Babylon for a coadjutor and successor in the bishopric, he takes measures for stopping any Chaldæan ecclesiastics who might attempt to make their way to India. His orders were strictly obeyed, and we hear of several persons who were stopped at Ormuz and other places, because they were supposed to be bishops in disguise.

We have at this time a glimpse of one dignitary of the Malabar Church, who would make no sacrifice of its liberties. This was Jacob, who had been left as his vicar-general by Mar Simeon, when he trusted himself to the Portuguese. Menezes wrote to him to induce him to submit to his authority. But Jacob only took occasion to warn his people against the designs of Rome. He died soon afterwards. And thus the sorely-tried Church lost the only ruler who had never yielded to the threats or seductions of her enemies. It is perhaps not much to be wondered at, therefore, that stories to his discredit should be found in the pages of historians who give us the Portuguese view of these occurrences. It is related of him, as Evagrius

Character and death of Archdeacon Jacob.

relates of Nestorius, that on account of blasphemy he was seized with a disease in the tongue which soon killed him.

Death of Mar Abraham.

Mar Abraham did not long survive the steadfast archdeacon. He died, according to the most authentic account, in firm attachment to the ancient doctrines of his Church. Two Jesuits came to administer the last rites to him. But they came in vain. He was buried, at his own desire, in the church of the Nestorian Saint Hormisdas at Angamalé.

His character.

It is easy to condemn some of his acts. It is not so easy to form a satisfactory opinion of his character. No doubt, if he had lived in better times, he would have been a better bishop; but he lived in an age when truth and honesty were but lightly regarded. With his rightful authority exposed to interference, which he knew not well how to avoid or resist; suddenly superseded in that authority by the reappearance of one who had been accounted as lost; doubtful, it may well be, in his conscience, whether his duty to the charge over which he had been appointed did not require him still to maintain his authority; he was certainly placed in a very difficult position. A man devoid of ambition might possibly have retired from that position with safety and honour. Abraham was not such a man. He took one false step, yet a step which appeared to be the only safe one. In consequence of it he found himself under strong temptation to barter his independence, his truth, his honesty, for permission to rule, as he supposed, in peace. So begins in Abraham's history a chapter of hypocrisy and humiliation, which ends only when he at length finds courage to shake off the spell which Rome has laid upon him. It is reported of him, indeed, that in the administration of that office, which he had secured by such base means, he sinned yet more deeply. It is written in the pages of Romanist historians, that he sold the sacraments and the gift of holy orders for money, and admitted persons to communion who had never been examined. But we are not bound to accept these charges against him. For we know how rife in times of excitement such rumours

are; and we know how prone are writers, who have reason to be angry with a man, to be deceived by the popular voice which slanders him.

Jesuit account of his death.

I have given above that account of Abraham's last years and death which seems to rest upon the best authority. Not thus, however, is it delivered by the Jesuit Pierre du Jarri, who published a history of his Order in the year 1608. He tells us that the bishop was to the last firmly attached to the Roman Church, and especially to the fathers of the college at Vaipicotta, into whose hands he latterly put himself altogether; that on his death-bed he committed his diocese to the care of the Bishop of Rome, and exhorted the people to obey him as their patriarch. These sentiments were shared also by the archdeacon George, of whom we shall hear much presently, and by the majority of the Christians. If we could believe this story to be true, the greater part of the history which follows would become inexplicable, and most of the statements of the Portuguese chroniclers must be regarded as mere inventions.

Conduct of Menezes.

As soon as Menezes heard of the death of Mar Abraham, he appointed Francisco Roz, a Jesuit, vicar-apostolical for the diocese. But, at the instance of the council at Goa, he reconsidered this appointment, and agreed to place the government of the diocese in the hands of a commission, consisting of the Chaldæan archdeacon, Francisco Roz, and the rector of the college of Vaipicotta. The archdeacon however objecting, this arrangement was not insisted upon; and finally Menezes formally appointed that dignitary sole ruler of the Church, requiring him at the same time to subscribe to the Profession of Faith drawn up by Pope Pius IV. He accepted the appointment, protesting, as well he might, that it really added nothing to his authority. The subscription to the Roman profession he at first postponed for four months, and then positively refused. At the same time he called a synod of the Church at Angamalé. The Christians there assembled "swore to stand by their archdeacon in the defence of the ancient faith they and their forefathers had been bred up in, so as not to suffer the least alteration

Archdeacon George appointed vicar-general.

Synod of the Malabar Church.

to be made therein, nor even to admit of any bishop but what should be sent them by the Patriarch of Babylon[1]."

Thus did the Christians of Malabar declare war. Portugal was not to have the Serra, the Roman Church was not to swallow up the Church of S. Thomas, without a struggle. How that struggle was carried on, by what means the aggressors secured the victory, whether the assailed were faithful to their vow or not, we shall see.

[1] Geddes, p. 45.

CHAPTER VI.

MENEZES VISITS THE SERRA.

THE attempts of the Portuguese to bring the Christians of Malabar into subjection to Rome have led hitherto but to one result. They have indeed succeeded for the present in depriving the Church of episcopal rule and protection, but they do not seem to be on that account much nearer to the attainment of their object. They have not excited in the hearts of the people any love for the Latin Church, any desire to be received within her pale. On the contrary, we are told that the Christians of S. Thomas were at this time filled with hatred for all that pertained to Rome. They would suffer no Latin priest even to live in their villages, much less to minister in their churches. Two Jesuits, who had ventured to go among them, narrowly escaped with their lives from the wrath of the people, the one at Carturté, the other at Angamalé. It became evident to the Archbishop of Goa that either the attempt to subdue this Church must be given up, or measures must be adopted different from those which had hitherto been tried. Accordingly, he determined to go to the Serra himself, and to see what his personal influence and persuasion, and any other means which he might find available when he was there, would do towards effecting that purpose which was too important, politically and ecclesiastically, to be lightly abandoned. In the making of this resolve, and in the manner in which he afterwards carried it out, we must allow Menezes the credit, at least, of unusual courage and perseverance. The first announcement of his determination called forth, from the viceroy and all the principal men of Goa, earnest remonstrances against

Hatred of the Romans by the Syrians.

Menezes determines to visit the Serra.

what they considered as his temerity. They represented to him the great perils of such a journey, in an unknown country, amidst a people bitterly hostile to him and his designs. But he remained deaf to all their arguments. To their predictions of a violent death he returned for answer only this, That his life was but too secure, seeing that he had never done anything to merit the honour of being a martyr. At various stages of his journey also there were those about him who were seriously afraid for his safety, and would fain have persuaded him to return home. But, if he felt any misgivings himself, he would not show them, or suffer them to have the slightest effect upon his conduct. We shall see further reasons presently for holding firmly by this opinion of the great personal courage of the archbishop. As to his other good or bad qualities, we shall be in a better position for judging, when we have traced the progress of his self-imposed mission.

Visit deferred.

His journey was prevented for the present by the breaking out of a war between the kings of Mangaté and Paru, in whose territories many of the Syrian Christians lived. But though he was thus compelled to remain at Goa, he was not idle. He wrote a letter to George, the archdeacon, in which he tried to persuade him to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and announced his own intended visit. The news of this intention of the archbishop threw the archdeacon into a great fright. And it was not without reason. For Menezes, he knew, would be backed up in all his attempts by the Portuguese military power; and so dependent were most of the native princes by this time upon the favour of the Portuguese, that they would scarcely venture to resist them openly. Thus, if matters should come to the extremity of a war, he had little to hope for the success of his cause. And to that extremity it seemed that the Portuguese were determined to push them. Under these circumstances, it is partly excusable in George that he endeavoured to temporize, and was willing to try whether, by a little concession of principle, he could not save his Church from being swallowed up. In his answer to the archbishop, he excused

Letter to archdeacon.

Archdeacon's reply.

himself for having refused subscription to the Profession of Faith, on the ground that the rector of the Jesuits' College, with whom he was justly offended, had been appointed to receive it. He promised also, that, if the archbishop would send some priest who was not of the Jesuits, he would willingly subscribe. Menezes at first was disinclined publicly to affront the Order of Jesuits by yielding to this request; but, finding that this conduct gave great dissatisfaction at Goa, he at length sent a Franciscan friar to the archdeacon to receive his confession of faith. Whether the archdeacon in the end gave his consent to the Profession of Pius V., or whether the Franciscan was content with the simple confession that he was a Catholic, and believed as the Catholic Church believed, remains a disputed question. But it is agreed that, whatever he professed, he continued to teach that the Church of S. Thomas was independent of the Pope.

A Franciscan friar sent to receive his confession.

At length Menezes set out upon his visitation. He embarked from Goa on the 27th of December, 1598. His mission was not purely religious or ecclesiastical. He had political and military affairs also to arrange. All this, however—his treaties, his councils of war—we may pass over; devoting our attention only to his conduct as a Christian missionary, or an ecclesiastical propagandist. At Cochin the archbishop was received with great demonstrations of honour; Portuguese and natives flocking out in multitudes to the landing-place, to welcome him to their shore. On the next day the Indian magistrates came to his lodging, to pay him a visit of courtesy. He seized the opportunity to engage their assistance in his military designs, and at the same time acquainted them with his purpose touching the Christians of the Serra, engaging them to use their influence in his support. During his stay at Cochin, he found means also to persuade the Rajah to promise his assistance to his undertaking. It was undoubtedly the Rajah's interest to have done all that he could to prevent the subjugation of the Syrian to the Latin Church, since that subjugation would certainly increase the power of the Portuguese, who were already too strong in the country. Accordingly we find that, in spite of

Menezes sets out.

Reception at Cochin.

his promises to the archbishop, he took care, wherever he thought that it could be done with safety, to throw hindrances in his way. That those promises were ever made was due, as we are informed by a Romanist historian[1], not only to the deference which the Rajah was forced to pay to the ambassador of the Portuguese, but also to the magic of a golden charm of 20,000 ducats.

Letter to the archdeacon,

Menezes now addressed himself to his work. He wrote to the archdeacon, requesting him to come and speak with him at Cochin. After waiting several days without either seeing him or hearing from him, concluding that he was afraid to trust himself near the city, the archbishop next sent him a letter of safe conduct. Upon this, George called a meeting of the principal cattanars (priests) of the diocese, and consulted with them what was best to be done. Their deliberations did not last very long. They considered that this archbishop who was come to visit them was a person of very great authority, who could do, if they offended him, serious damage to their pepper trade; that he was able, moreover, to compel their princes to do with them as he would. He was not a person, therefore, whose requests could well be refused. It was decided that the archdeacon should wait upon him, and that he should be suffered, if he wished it, to say mass and preach in their churches. This, as they learned from the chronicles of their Church, was a civility which had always been accorded to any bishop who had paid a visit to the Serra. They hoped, as the winter was approaching, that Menezes would shortly return to Goa, and that, by making these concessions to him, they might prevent any more violent attacks upon their independence which he might contemplate, until a bishop of their own communion should succeed in reaching them. In the mean time, they determined to put off, upon whatsoever pretext they could, any acts of episcopal jurisdiction which Menezes might pretend to exercise. These decisions they made known throughout the diocese; and, at the same time, they drew together, for

who consults his clergy.

Preparations for defence.

[1] See La Croze, *Hist. du Christ. des Indes*, p. 100.

the protection of the archdeacon and their liberties, a force of 3000 men, brave and well armed. Besides this military force which was to accompany the archdeacon in his visit to Cochin, the whole country bristled with arms. Many of the Paniquais, or feudal lords, of Malabar, whom Menezes had attempted to conciliate, took an oath to perish rather than suffer any violence to be done to their archdeacon or any of the clergy.

The measures of the Syrian clergy discussed.

It is difficult to see what more prudent measures could have been adopted by the clergy and laity of the Serra, in the face of the undisguised assault which was now being made upon their religious liberties. It is true that Menezes, having once set his foot in the country, and being allowed to preach in the churches, had obtained the opportunity which he desired. Yet, so long as he came in peace, and used his military escort only for purposes of display, to have forbidden him the use of their pulpits would have been contrary to their traditions, and to the spirit of religious liberty which they cherished. On the other hand, if he attempted to carry his purpose by an appeal to force, they were prepared to answer force by force. Their preparations for active resistance were not only excusable but commendable, considering the constraint and violence which had been already laid upon their bishops, and the character, half ecclesiastical, half martial, in which the archbishop had made his appearance at Cochin. If they had had an ordinary man to cope with, one who was easily frightened by an array of force, or one who could not winter in a wild and rugged country, or one who knew not how to mingle threats and allurements judiciously, the probability is that their measures would have been successful. Perhaps, if they themselves had been faithful to their principles, if they had been composed more largely of the stuff that martyrs are made of, they might still have preserved their Church's liberties. But they knew not Menezes yet. And, it may be, that they knew not themselves.

Archdeacon visits Menezes at Cochin.

When the archdeacon approached Cochin, attended by his formidable body-guard and two Paniquais, Don Antonio

de Noronha, the Portuguese commandant, went out to meet him, and conducted him to the presence of the archbishop. Courteous was the meeting on both sides. But the Paniquais and their armed followers seemed to show more determination than courtesy, by taking up their positions on each side of the archbishop, with their swords drawn. When the doors were closed, the multitude without, supposing that treachery was intended towards their archdeacon, raised a tumult. They assailed the doors, crying out that they would die for their religion. They were pacified, however, by an assurance from the cattanar at the door that the archdeacon was in no danger. The noise of this disturbance having subsided, the archbishop, nothing daunted by the fierce faces and naked swords that hemmed him in, proceeded to business. He seemed satisfied with the concessions made to him by the synod of cattanars. This was neither the time nor the place to speak out fully his intentions. It was arranged that he should first visit the church at Vaipicotta; at which place the archdeacon and the cattanars engaged to meet him.

Menezes visits the church of Vaipicotta.

We are told that the retinue which accompanied him on his journey occupied seven boats, and that he was attended by two Portuguese nobles, with three more boats. The use of boats, and the occurrence of the word "voyage" which we find applied to the archbishop's journey, are explained by the fact, that in the interior of Travancore persons travel for the most part on the back-water and the streams which flow into it. At Vaipicotta the archbishop was received by the Jesuits and their scholars. Having marched to the parish church in procession, followed by the whole village, he preached a long sermon on the text, "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." His discourse was chiefly occupied in proving that all the former bishops of the Serra, not having been consecrated by the Pope, were nothing better than thieves and robbers. A very fervent and eloquent discourse it was, and drew tears from the eyes of the listeners. These, however, must have been chiefly

Portuguese; for the natives can scarcely be supposed to have understood it. The next day he held a confirmation, and celebrated the mass. All this time, where were the archdeacon and his clergy? They seem to have delayed their arrival at Vaipicotta, in order that they might not appear to sanction the archbishop's proceedings—surely but a feeble protest to make against denunciations of their patriarch, and the usurpation of episcopal authority! When they came, all was mildness and amity.

Encouraged, it may be, by the forbearance of the clergy, the archbishop forthwith proceeded to further acts of authority. Coming to understand at length that in the Syrian office for matins and vespers, at which he had attended regularly since his arrival at Vaipicotta, prayers were offered for the Patriarch of Babylon, under the title of "Universal Pastor of the Church," he determined at once to put a stop to such a practice. Accordingly he assembled at his lodgings the Jesuit fathers from the college, with the archdeacon and cattanars. There he delivered an harangue upon the Pope's supremacy, and then produced a form of excommunication which he caused to be read aloud in Latin and in Malabar. In this instrument it was ordered that no person should presume to pray for the Patriarch of Babylon. Menezes ordered the archdeacon and clergy to sign it. And they, thinking, it is to be presumed, still further to temporize, and, excusing to their own consciences no doubt an act which seemed to be dictated by a specious policy, at once signed it, and permitted it to be fixed, with their names upon it, on the gates of the church. Forthwith the people of the village ran in a body to the archdeacon's lodging, and clamoured against the archbishop, crying out that he "was come with his Portuguese to destroy their religion; and had affronted their Patriarch, by whom they had been governed for above 1200 years;" that it was a cruel thing for strangers thus to interfere with people's religion; with other very just and natural complaints. George, however, contrived to appease them at length, by assuring them that he was doing the best that could be done for the maintenance of their

Forbids prayer for the patriarch.

Archdeacon and clergy consenting.

Tumult of the people.

liberties; that it was not possible openly to resist the archbishop, who came among them with the support not only of the Portuguese, but of their own sovereigns also; that this was the time for dissimulation and skilful management, rather than for outspoken complaints or positive defiance; and, lastly, that he himself and those who were with him were ready to die for their religion, if need were. Thus pacified, after a few last murmurs and cries of vengeance, the multitude dispersed.

It is possible that the end of the scene might not have been so pacific, if any of the Paniquais, who were under oath to resist even to the death any encroachments upon their independence, had been present, and free to act for themselves. But either there were none in the village, or they were restrained by the authority of the archdeacon, who, as we have seen already, and shall see more abundantly in the sequel, was not a man of much courage or determination.

Thus the Syrian clergy took their first false step. It was right, if the customs of their Church allowed it, that they should suffer this Roman archbishop to preach and administer the Sacraments in their churches, rather than provoke needlessly the strong arm of coercion, which they believed that he was ready to employ. We may even make allowance for their apparent neglect of principle, in making no objection to his unwarrantable introduction of unknown rites and doctrines, and his assumption of the episcopal office, in administering confirmation in the parish church of Vaipicotta, if their fear was lest they should cause the shedding of blood needlessly. But it is difficult to find any excuse for their falsehood and cowardice, in suffering themselves to be browbeaten into a denial of what they considered to be right and true, and the signing of a solemn decree which they themselves intended to violate. By this unfaithfulness to themselves and their own principles, they lost ground which they never afterwards recovered; it may be that they lost also that Divine protection and assistance, which are promised only to those who are true and loyal to themselves and to God.

Persistence of the archbishop.

A less resolute man than Menezes might have been deterred from prosecuting his purpose, by the popular outcry which his first act of aggression had excited. The Europeans who were with him made earnest representations to him of the danger of persevering, and besought him to return to Goa. But with a persistence, worthy of a better purpose, yet due, it may well be, to his own conviction of the importance of his work, he refused to turn back.

He is joined by two cattanars.

Before he left Vaipicotta he had the satisfaction of winning over to the support of his design two Indian cattanars, who had been educated in the Jesuits' College; one of whom became in the end a very efficient agent in the attainment of his object.

Visits Paru.

From Vaipicotta he next proceeded to Paru, a town or village near Cranganore. It was the metropolis of the kingdom of Paru, in which lived the noblest and most respectable of all the Syrian Christians. Their hostility to Rome had been remarkably displayed some years before, in the case of two of their compatriots, who, having been sent by the Portuguese to Rome, and having been kindly treated by the reigning Pontiff Gregory XIII., returned to the Serra, filled with Latin notions, and bringing many indulgences from the Pope. The good people of Paru, however, cared not for their indulgences and would none of their doctrines, but cast them out of the country—their own relatives being the first to bid them depart.

In accordance with the decision of the synod of the cattanars, the Christians of Paru had made preparations to receive the archbishop with hospitality and distinction. But the news of his doings at Cranganore preceded him, and changed their hospitality into enmity. A few persons met him at the landing-place, and conducted him to the archdeacon. When he went to the church, he found it full of armed men. Observing such signs of hostility, and determined if possible to avoid violence, he at once sent away all his own servants and attendants to the boats, keeping only two priests to assist him. Here we may see not only the courage, but the prudence of the archbishop. For if any

is coldly received.

quarrel had occurred at Paru, it would most probably have been the signal for an appeal to arms throughout the Serra, and then the Christians, though opposed to the united force of the Portuguese and of their heathen princes, would have given their adversaries much trouble, and in the end might have been crushed, perhaps, but not converted.

His behaviour in the church.

His firmness and dignity seem to have kept the martial congregation in the church quiet, even while he harangued them against the Patriarch, and summoned them to confirmation. He preached to them for an hour and a half, and then confirmed a few children, whom the archdeacon presented to him as the only persons willing to submit to the rite; and then, after an exchange of angry words with that dignitary, he discreetly withdrew from a place in which he could plainly perceive that the harvest was not yet ripe for his sickle.

Visits Mangaté.

At Mangaté, the capital of a kingdom which had lately been at war with that of Paru, the archbishop found the people in much distress and fear, with their household goods collected in the church, for security against the bodies of armed men who were still roving about the country. He comforted and blessed them; but departed in haste, upon receiving the news of a body of armed men from Paru, who were pursuing him. At this place a third cattanar is said to have joined him. This was a very child-like old man of eighty years, who acknowledged that in all his eighty years he had never heard of the primacy of the Pope, but who became perfectly convinced, when Menezes assured him that all which he taught was true.

Visits Cheguree.

From Mangaté the archbishop went to Cheguree, which was in the dominions of the Rajah of Cochin, where he met with a very cold reception from the Christians. Here he wrote to the archdeacon, very artfully mingling professions of friendship and regard with promises of reward and advancement, and inviting him to come once more to a conference. The archbishop's letter was laid before the cattanars; who agreed that they should all wait upon him, but with such a guard about them as should prevent him from making

them prisoners. A very prudent and fair decision this was, if only they could have been sure of their own constancy under the menaces and blandishments of their opponent. The conference took place on board the archbishop's galley. A full account of it is given by La Croze[1]. It began with apologies from the archdeacon for the apparent inhospitality of himself and his clergy in their reception of their guest. It was due, he said, to his denunciations of their Patriarch. The discussion then turned upon Nestorianism. The archbishop, to convince his opponents of their error, quoted S. John i. 14 from the Vulgate, "Verbum caro factum est." To this the archdeacon returned no answer, but passed to another subject—the independence of his Church of the authority of Rome. He declared that they did not find any recognition of the exclusive catholicity of the Roman communion in any of the writings of S. John; alleging also the authority of two letters which they kept in their archives, one from S. Caius, Bishop of Rome, who declared that he had nothing to do with the Christians of S. Thomas, and another, called The Letter of the Lord's Day, in which the same doctrine was laid down. Other legendary authorities were also adduced by the Indian clergy. But Menezes, rebuking them for believing such fables, attempted to prove the Pope's supremacy from the discourse of our Lord with S. Peter, in which that Apostle was commanded to feed the Lord's sheep. Whether the archdeacon and cattanars found this argument convincing, we know not. Gouvea, who tells the story, clearly wished it to appear so. For if they made an answer, he does not record it. At the close of the conference, an agreement to the following effect was made and signed by Menezes, and the archdeacon and clergy. A synod of the diocese was to be assembled, which should decide upon the questions which had been raised. In the meantime the archbishop might, if he pleased, give the benediction or preach in any of their churches. He should not, however, be received in them as their prelate, but as a

A conference.

[1] See also Geddes, p. 69. Hough, i. 365.

bishop who was their guest. He should not attempt to confirm, or to perform any other episcopal function, within the diocese. Such was the agreement. It was certainly more favourable to the Syrian Christians than we might have anticipated. Whether Menezes intended to observe it, even when he signed it, becomes doubtful from his subsequent conduct. He was probably not altogether free from the pernicious doctrine of his age and his Church—that falsehood in the cause of religion was allowable, and that faith need not be kept with a heretic.

Visits Canhur.

From Cheguree, Menezes went to Canhur, accompanied by the archdeacon and a considerable number of cattanars. Here he was very favourably received, but in his first sermon grievously offended the congregation by dwelling at great length upon the supremacy of Rome. The archdeacon, being attacked by sickness, and probably sick at heart as well as in body, returned to Cheguree for medical advice; whilst the archbishop, called away from his ecclesiastical mission by political business, took a journey southward to the Portuguese fortress of Quilon.

Visits Porca.

On his way he visited Porca, where he had an interview with the Rajah of the country, and engaged him, by his desire for an alliance with the King of Portugal, to support him in his undertakings. At this place he openly violated the agreement which had been made at Cheguree, by saying mass in the church, and administering confirmation to all present. The readiness with which the people submitted to this exercise of the episcopal function is attributed to the commands of the Rajah, and to the influence of the Jesuits, who had established themselves at Porca, and had endeavoured, with some success, to win over the minds of the Christians to Romish rule.

Confirms.

We need not follow the archbishop to Quilon, nor recount his intrigues and devices in the service of his country. With his character as a diplomatist in political matters, we have no concern.

Visit to Molandurté.

We find him visiting the Christians next at Molandurté, which was in the dominions of the Rajah of Cochin. Here

he is received very favourably, and takes advantage of this to perform various episcopal acts. His violation of the agreement, so lately made, being by this time known to the archdeacon, that dignitary at length rouses himself to protest against his conduct in an excommunication, which he causes to be circulated throughout the diocese.

Is excommunicated by the archdeacon.

If this resolute attitude had been maintained, the issue of the contest might, possibly, have been different. But George was not the man to maintain it. It may be, however, that it was too late for the successful resort to such measures. By this time the feelings of the people were beginning to incline towards the archbishop, who seemed to be by so much the stronger of the two rulers who claimed their allegiance. And among the clergy and principal men of the country, the timidity and weakness of the archdeacon himself found imitators.

Prospects.

From this time the perseverance of Menezes began to reap its reward. By the vacillation and cowardice of some and by the open desertion of others—who, whether allured by his promises or convinced by his arguments, became his partizans—the defenders of the liberties of the Malabar Church were almost daily weakened, and the hands of him who sought its subjugation were strengthened.

The tide turns.

The end is not far off. But the remaining incidents of the struggle, in which the waning cause shows a few signs of remaining vigour, and religious liberty in the Serra, even at the moment of its extinction, predicts its own revival, must form the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

MENEZES IN THE SERRA. THE CONQUEST.

Menezes at Vaipin. Baptizes Uniare Cherare.

FROM Molandurté the archbishop went to Vaipin. His business there was political. There was one other person engaged in that political business who is interesting to us, as a specimen of the result of missions in those days. This was Uniare Cherare, nephew and prime minister of the Zamorin of Calicut. He had been baptized by the Jesuits, but had been suffered to keep his Christianity a secret, partly, as it seems, for the sake of his own worldly prospects, partly that he might play into the hands of the Portuguese. When the political business was over, this secret disciple was confirmed by the archbishop; who thus gave his sanction to the duplicity of the Jesuits.

At Diamper.

Menezes next visited Diamper, the ancient seat of the Malabar bishopric. Here, so utterly did he disregard the instrument to which he had set his seal at Cheguree, he gave notice that he intended to hold an ordination on the Saturday before the fifth Sunday in Lent. It was high time for an ordination to be held; for, as the Portuguese had deprived the Church of its bishop, no orders had been conferred for two years. Menezes, however, was not the right person for the office, unless by consent of the Church and commission from the Patriarch. He thought differently. He summoned the archdeacon to assist. The reply was to the effect that this purpose of the archbishop was contrary to their agreement, and would certainly prevent the proposed synod; since the object of that synod was, chiefly, to decide whether he was their prelate or not. Menezes answered, for he thought that he might now cast off all dis-

An ordination.

guise, that he would certainly hold the ordination, and would exercise all other episcopal functions, in obedience to the Pope's directions, to whom all Churches in the world were subject. The archdeacon wrote again, requesting him to ordain only Latins, meaning thereby not only Europeans, but such natives also as had been educated by the Jesuits. Menezes replied that he would ordain both Latins and Syrians, for his business was to destroy that distinction and to bring all Christians into one communion. But the archdeacon had not yet lost that spirit of decision and energy in which he had issued his excommunication. He published throughout the diocese two decrees; the first forbidding all Christians to receive orders at the hands of the Archbishop of Goa; the second commanding all clergy and laity to hinder him from coming into their churches, and to absent themselves from his masses and sermons. He issued also a third decree, addressed to the people of Diamper, in which they were ordered to prevent the archbishop from holding an ordination, or performing any other episcopal act.

The decrees of the archdeacon.

Menezes had already preached twice, and had confirmed without much preparation a large number of persons. When the decrees arrived, the people immediately collected in crowds about his lodgings and raised a great clamour against him. The chief cattanar of the town went to him, and in the name of his brethren desired him to depart and confirm no more, observing that confirmation was for them unnecessary. The archbishop took not the slightest notice of this protest, but, having invited all the clergy to wait upon him, he began to instruct them in the nature and necessity of confirmation. The opposition of the populace seems to have gone no farther than outcry. For any more positive efforts of resistance they probably lacked chiefly organization. There was not, it is likely, that unanimity amongst them which there would have been at the commencement of the visitation. Many were favourably impressed by the zeal and firmness of the archbishop—it may be also by his pomp and splendour, which are never without their effect on the multitude. Crowds and their clamour were by no means

Opposition of the people of Diamper.

able to daunt Menezes, or to turn him from his purpose. We are not surprised, therefore, that he persisted. Other opposition indeed was offered, but it did not appear very formidable to him. The archdeacon, finding that no remonstrances of his could prevent the ordination, and seeing no other resource which was likely to be of more avail, having the foresight also to perceive in this ordination a mortal blow to the liberties of his Church, applied himself to the Rajah of Cochin, in whose dominions Diamper was, entreating him to forbid it.

Interference of the Rajah of Cochin.

It was not difficult for the Rajah to see how greatly his power would be weakened, if this device for the subjection of the Christians of S. Thomas to the influence of the Portuguese should be successful; and he determined for once to act boldly. He sent a command to the governor of Diamper to stop the service if it was begun, and to threaten with his severe displeasure any of his subjects who should present themselves for ordination. This was the signal for a great display of hostility on the part of the Naires of the district. They declared that this archbishop had nothing to do with the Christians of their country, who were subject to the Rajah, and that they would kill him and his followers if he attempted to enter the church. One officer met Menezes and threatened him to his face. He answered that "he had done nothing but what was according to the command of the great and only God, who made heaven and earth, and without whose will no one could do him any harm." Of the threats of these heathen soldiers he took no more notice than he had taken of the clamour of the Christian populace. His attendants took precaution for his safety, but these he disregarded. No doubt he knew that the Rajah would have bitter cause to repent any offence or violence which might be offered to him by these men; it may be that he relied upon their consciousness of this, to prevent them from going beyond menace; but it is but a pitiful display of anti-Roman spleen to deny that he may have been supported by a conviction of the rightness of his cause, and by a sincere trust in that God on whom he professed to lean.

Hostility of the Naires.

Menezes ordains thirty-eight clergy.

The ordination took place. By assembling the candidates in the church the evening before, and keeping them there all night, the archbishop forestalled his opponents and defeated their measures for prevention. Thirty-eight persons received holy orders. Before they were ordained they abjured the Nestorian faith, professed the creed of Pius IV., swore allegiance to the Pope, renounced for ever that of the Patriarch, and promised never to obey any other bishop but those who were sent from Rome.

Who these men were who thus submitted to be ordained by Menezes and betrayed the independence of the Church of their fathers—whether they were pupils of the Jesuits, or by what means they were persuaded to attach themselves to Rome and its policy, we are not told. They were now tied hand and foot. The archbishop had secured a force of devoted auxiliaries in his future warfare against the liberties of the native Church.

At Carturté.

On the Friday before Palm Sunday Menezes arrived at Carturté, a town in the dominions of the Rani of Pimenta. Here he remained until after Easter-day, and made considerable progress. With his usual energy he entered upon the work the very day of his arrival. He said mass and preached in the church—for the edict of the archdeacon either had not arrived or was disregarded. By his courtesy and persuasions, perhaps also by the use of means which we cannot approve, he completely won the hearts of two of the principal Christians of the place. On Palm Sunday he celebrated high mass with the assistance of a full choir from Cochin. The effect of the imposing ritual and rich music upon the minds of the Christians is variously reported. Geddes asserts that "if they liked it ill before they were now perfectly disgusted[1];" whilst Gouvea tells us that it was only the clergy who were dissatisfied, the people were delighted[2]. There were other things, however, which gave dissatisfaction to many; though there were some, it appears, who were now ready to applaud whatever the archbishop

Passion Week.

[1] Vol. I. p. 80. [2] Quoted by Hough, Vol. I. p. 395, note.

did. The services which he and his priests conducted quite stopped the ordinary services. He also took upon himself to forbid the accustomed offerings to the clergy. The custom was that at each of the great festivals every communicant should present a "fanam[1]" to their cattanars; and these presents formed the chief source of the clerical revenues. Menezes gave this custom the hard and unjust name of simony, and upon that pretext forbade it. Another grievance was the introduction of private confession, of which these Christians had never heard.

Displeasure of the Rani.

The energetic proceedings of the archbishop drew forth an order from the Rani, to quit her territories within three days under pain of death. He did not however go. He wrote her a letter of mingled defiance and expostulation; but lest this should fail of persuading or intimidating her, he secured to himself the good offices of her prime minister and others by means of valuable presents. In the meantime he continued to conduct the daily services of Holy Week with much pomp. The heathen magistrates favoured him, for he had been liberal to them. He had also conciliated by various means several of the clergy and a great number of the people of Carturté. On Holy Thursday he had much elaborate ritual to exhibit to them. He consecrated the holy oils. He enclosed the host in a pix. He washed the feet of the cattanars and kissed them. . . . His party increased hourly in numbers and enthusiasm. . . . On Good Friday their admiration was further heightened by the ceremony of the adoration of the cross—a rite to which they attached great importance, but which they had never seen so impressively performed.

Interruption by a cattanar.

But the services of this holy day were somewhat rudely interrupted. There came a cattanar to church whom Menezes had excommunicated on account of opposition. He brought with him, from the archdeacon, a ban against all who should receive the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop. When Menezes saw him in the church, he sent him a message bidding him withdraw. The cattanar replied

[1] Worth about 4*d*.

aloud: "That he would not go out, for that he was none of his prelate." The archbishop stopped the service and bade him approach. He scornfully refused, but was dragged forward by the cattanars of the Roman party, and forced down upon his knees before Menezes. They bade him beg the archbishop's pardon. But he said that he would die before he would do that, or anything else whereby he might seem to acknowledge his authority. The scene ended in a general disturbance, in the midst of which the offending cattanar was thrust out of the church. We see here two things:—the influence which Menezes had obtained over the minds of many both of priests and people; also the hot hatred of Rome and her aggressions, which still burnt in the hearts of some to whom the liberties of their Church were dear.

Several cattanars join Menezes.

That night several cattanars abjured the Patriarch of Babylon and gave themselves to the allegiance of Rome. Six of them set off the next morning to visit the archdeacon and attempt to win him over.

Second ordination.

On Easter-eve Menezes held a second ordination. To Francisco Roz, who visited him on that day, he thus expressed his exultation: "He could not believe," he said, "that he was in the same Carturté, where, not many months ago, having a mind to say mass, he was forced to have the church-doors opened for him by the Queen's regedor, and where, when he elevated the sacrament, the people all shut their eyes that they might not see it; and beat one of his scholars for having named the Pope in his Prayers; and, when he shewed them an image of Our Lady, cried out: 'Away with that filthiness! We are Christians, and for that reason do not adore idols or pagods[1].'" To us it appears that in all this the faith of these poor Indians had been so far corrupted. That Menezes could rejoice over this change was the fault not so much of the man as of his creed.

Easter-day.

Easter-day was observed with a solemn procession, in which the archbishop was conducted from one church to the other[2].

[1] Geddes, p. 84.

[2] These *two* churches seem to have belonged to the two tribes or castes into which the Christians were divided.

The heathen laid a plot to kill him during that procession, but he escaped. After the morning service, Menezes was invited to the Narché, or feast of charity. He excused himself on account of fatigue, but the bishop's portion, consisting of a large cluster of figs with cakes of rice and honey, was afterwards sent to his lodgings.

Menezes visits the sick.

In the evening he visited the sick, gave them spiritual counsel, and relieved their temporal wants. The people forthwith compared his charity and humility with what they knew of the conduct of their own former bishops, much to the disadvantage of these. It was perhaps intended that this contrast should be drawn. They were not reminded that Menezes was wealthy, and had at command the resources of an abundant treasury; whereas their own bishops had been for the most part little richer than themselves.

At Molandurté.

Behold the archbishop next at Molandurté, where on his former visit he had been very kindly received. This time, however, it was not so. For their Rajah, who did not dare to oppose Menezes openly, had punished them by a double tribute for their kindness to him. The archbishop immediately writes to the Portuguese commandant at Cochin to send the Rajah's prime minister to him. The minister came, and his business was to avert the wrath of this great Portuguese magnate. When Menezes complained, he apologized. When Menezes commanded, he obeyed. Upon his order, publicly given, the people were reconciled to the archbishop. The Naires alone had any independence left. They defied and threatened him.

Letter from the archdeacon.

At Molandurté Menezes received a letter from the archdeacon, in which he was admonished to desist, assured that it was vain to hope for compliance from the Christians, and warned of the anger of the native princes. Some of his partizans, when they heard this letter read, advised him to withdraw; others thought that he had been too lenient towards the archdeacon, and urged him to proceed to extremities. To these he answered, that "Meekness and patience were virtues which the Son of God had taught them when on earth; and that those who thought that he had not acted

rightly among the Christians should pray to God to inspire him with more wisdom and a better spirit, that he might be able henceforth to conduct himself in a manner more certainly for the people's benefit[1]."

Interview with the heathen prime minister.

At Diamper the archbishop had another interview with the Rajah's prime minister. It was very stormy; with many violent accusations and complaints, much wrath and vehemence on the part of the Christian; with many excuses and promises, much patience, and a little natural defiance on the part of the idolater. In the end the minister assembled all the Christians of the town, and bade them in the Rajah's name obey the archbishop in all things. The next day Menezes held a confirmation; after which he announced that he had deposed and excommunicated the archdeacon as a rebel against the Pope, and warned the people to have no more to do with him. They apparently acquiesced.

The archdeacon in perplexity.

Great was the perplexity of the archdeacon by this time. One by one the churches were submitting to this foreign prelate. A large party among the clergy, including many of the younger and more energetic among them, had espoused his cause. He himself was deposed and excommunicated in their eyes. He began to foresee that he must either submit or be sent a prisoner to Europe; for escape out of the Serra was impossible. A letter from Menezes found him thus troubled. That letter cited him to appear before God's judgment-seat to answer for the souls "now burning in hell through his rebellion." Whether the archdeacon was terrified by this citation, or feared rather that he should have to stand upon earth before a less just and merciful tribunal, does not appear. He determined to submit.

One gleam of independence lights up the scene.

Independence of the Christians of Naramé.

Menezes went to visit the Christians of Naramé, but found them all in arms at the landing-place. They told him to stay in his boat, for the church-doors were shut, and there was no one there who would have anything to do with him. He sent for the heathen governor, and bade him go and command the Christians to receive him. He promised, but

[1] Hough, I. 427.

was unable to perform—they had all hidden themselves. So the archbishop was obliged to depart as he came. This example of the men of Naramé, if it had occurred earlier, might have saved the Christians from subjection. But it came too late; there were few now that were disposed, and fewer still that would have dared to imitate it, among the Churches of Malabar. Even while the people of Naramé were thus vindicating their independence against Menezes, the archdeacon was preparing a letter of submission. He declared that "he was overcome by the power of truth, and was resolved to submit himself to the Roman Church, entreating his Grace to pardon all the by-past errors of an ignorant son[1]." In reply, Menezes drew up and sent to the archdeacon ten Articles, which he required him to sign within twenty days, or else not to come into his presence. These Articles were briefly as follows:—

The Ten Articles.

I. That he should abjure all the errors of Nestorius, and of all his followers, Diodorus and Theodorus, acknowledging them to be cursed heretics, that are burning in hell for their errors[2].

II. That he should confess that there was but one Christian Law.

III. That he should subscribe the confession of faith which had been sent to him from Goa.

IV. That he should deliver all the books of the diocese, to be amended or burnt.

V. That he should swear obedience to the Pope, as S. Peter's successor and Christ's Vicar upon earth, so that none can be saved out of his allegiance.

VI. That he should curse the Patriarch of Babylon as a Nestorian heretic and schismatic, and swear never to obey him, nor to have any communication with him.

VII. That he should swear never to receive any bishop

[1] Geddes, p. 94.

[2] The historians remark upon the ignorance of Menezes of ecclesiastical history, in calling Diodorus and Theodorus followers of Nestorius. One is shocked also by his familiarity with hell-fire.

in the Serra, unless sent thither by the Pope, and should promise to obey whomsoever he should send.

VIII. That in the meantime he should recognize the Archbishop Menezes as his true prelate.

IX. That he should assemble a Diocesan Synod to treat of such matters as the archbishop should think fit, and should promise to be present himself.

X. That he should accompany the archbishop peacefully wheresoever he went, without any guards.

Hesitation of the archdeacon.

After a few days Menezes received a letter from the archdeacon, who wrote to say that, "Though he was ready to subscribe all the Articles which had been sent to him, it was not possible for him to wait upon his Grace within so short a time as he had fixed[1]." Thinking that this delay was due to the influence of the Rajah of Mangaté, in whose dominions George lived, Menezes sent a messenger to that prince to inform him that if he hindered the archdeacon from being reconciled to him, the King of Portugal should know it. The Rajah answered, that the archdeacon might do as he pleased; he had never thought of interfering.

Still the archdeacon did not come. So Menezes sent two Jesuits to let him know that "this was his last admonition, and that if he did not come in eight days, he would infallibly depose him, and put another in his place."

Rajah of Cochin visits Menezes.

He waited for a reply at Cranganore. There the Rajah of Cochin visited him. In the presence of some of their nobles and servants the two held a conference. The archbishop charged the Rajah and his officers with having neglected to influence the Christians in his favour, as had been promised. Warm and loud grew the discourse. The archbishop was very angry, and used violent and excited gestures. The Rajah, on the whole, kept his temper well. Whether the anger of Menezes was real, or whether he judged it necessary to assume its appearance in order the more to intimidate the Rajah, is a question raised by the partiality of his biographer Gouvea, which it is of course

[1] Geddes, p. 98.

impossible for us to decide. If it was simulated, it seems to have been very well done. In the end they parted with all appearance of friendship, and the Rajah went away in increased dread of the archbishop. He wrote at once to George and to the Rajah of Mangaté, exhorting the one to come, and the other to compel him to come and submit.

The archdeacon yields.

Poor perplexed George could put off his evil fate no longer. One fear he had greater than the fear of having to yield. He could not bear the thought of being sent off under a strong guard to Goa, on his way to Portugal. Therefore he would not, if he could help it, go near Cranganore, which was a fortress of the Portuguese. He wrote to the archbishop that he would throw himself at his feet, if only he would meet him somewhere else. He was so far indulged. The two met in the church at Vaipicotta. Casting himself at the feet of Menezes, the archdeacon exclaimed: "Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. I do humbly beg pardon for all my errors, which have been great[1]." The archbishop raised him from the ground, and embraced him tenderly. All, he said, was forgotten. God's mercy had been stronger than Satan's malice. He begged him at once to complete his repentance by signing the Ten Articles and the Profession of Faith.

I have not scrupled to point out the faults of Menezes—his violence, his ambition, his unfaithfulness to his word. But is it utterly inconsistent with the recognition of these faults to suppose that in the heart of the archbishop at that moment there was pure spiritual joy? Knowing how strangely mingled is humanity, who will presume to deny that there was there the gladness of one who has "turned a sinner from the error of his way"? We may doubt the reality of George's convictions,—we may see in his signing of the Articles and the Profession an act of perjury,—we may feel that, if it was otherwise, he was not coming out of darkness into light, but out of twilight into deeper shades of twilight;—but we may not deny that, over and above all

[1] Geddes, p. 104.

the merely human triumph of the archbishop, there was something mingling in his exultation which was not of earth but of heaven.

The archdeacon declared that he was quite ready to do what was required of him; but that for the sake of the Christians of his communion, who were but imperfectly instructed, it was better that he should make his subscription at present privately. At the synod he would make it publicly.

Soon afterwards, in the archbishop's lodgings, in his presence and that of Francisco Roz, the deluded or degraded George knelt before a crucifix, and, laying his hand upon the missal, swore to the Ten Articles and the Profession of Faith. Then, lest he should deny his act, he was constrained to put his name to both.

The Synod agreed upon.

On the next morning an assembly of cattanars was held, in which Menezes announced his intention of calling a synod very shortly. To this they all agreed. It was further decided, after some little opposition, that the synod should be called at Diamper, and should commence on the third Sunday after Whitsuntide (June 20th).

Preparations of Menezes.

The interval was employed by the archbishop in composing, with the assistance of Francisco Roz, the decrees for the synod, and in strengthening his influence. He engages the assistance and support of several heathen princes; holds another ordination at Paru, where he admits fifty candidates to holy orders; and secures the favour of some of the most influential among the procurators (or lay members of the synod) by the judicious distribution of valuable presents.

His work almost completed.

The conquest upon which the Archbishop of Goa had set his heart was now virtually complete. I have narrated somewhat circumstantially the steps of the process by which he achieved that conquest, because it is impossible to understand, without the knowledge of these details, how he was able in the course of a few months to overturn the liberties of this ancient Church. Now we are in a more favourable position for the explaining of this phenomenon. We have

Causes of his success.

seen this man full of zeal for his work, convinced, we would fain hope, that the thing which he is doing is agreeable to God, endowed with more than ordinary courage and perseverance, a man of much personal influence and of many devices—a host in himself.

We have seen such an one enter upon his undertaking with an unlimited supply of money, backed also by the political and military power of an European state. He has not scrupled to use any means which seemed likely to bring about the desired object; he has threatened, he has promised, he has bribed, he has induced the temporal governors of the Christians, by persuasion or intimidation, to use their influence for the furtherance of his designs; he has descended, lastly, to falsehood, to a breach of his signed and sealed agreement. So he has triumphed. But his triumph has been helped or hastened by the character of those with whom he had to deal. At the outset, the selfish ambition or the cowardice of their prelates played into his hands. Their own instability and that of their clerical rulers, the lack of a fervent religious spirit to animate the whole body, their undue attachment to earthly possessions and advantages, the readiness of the ignorant to be dazzled by splendour and to give credit to confident pretensions, made them a somewhat easy prey to the proselytizing zeal of their magnificent visitor. Thus the Syrian Church in India was to be united to Rome. But an union based upon the fears of the clergy, upon the credulity of the population, upon the sincere convictions of only a few, could not well be permanent.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE DECLINE OF ROMAN SUPREMACY IN MALABAR.

LITTLE now remains to be added in order to complete our review of the dealings of the Portuguese with the Christians of S. Thomas. The synod was held at Diamper, as Menezes had desired; and ended, as he had taken pains that it should end, in the adhesion of the Indian Church to Rome. The decrees which he had prepared were first submitted to a committee of eight cattanars, assisted by four of the principal procurators; and, being approved by them after some slight alterations, were presented to the assembled clergy and people as with their authority.

Decrees for the Synod approved by committee of cattanars.

It is not necessary for my purpose to enter into the history of the synod. The Portuguese biographer of Menezes gives us to understand that the Syrians were not all perfectly satisfied with the scene in which they were engaged; that there was secret discontent; that there were open murmurs; that there was premeditated interruption. But the majority either were satisfied, or, to please Menezes, pretended to be; and even the malcontents and murmurers were too feeble and spiritless to persist in their opposition. In the end, all the hundred and fifty-three cattanars, all the six hundred and sixty procurators, signed the decrees.

Progress of the Synod.

The synod closed, according to Gouvea, with a miracle. The procession with which the happy end of the proceedings was celebrated, was stopped by a heavy fall of rain, the sudden cessation of which is attributed to the prayers of the victorious prelate[1]. Pretences enough is Menezes

A miracle.

[1] See Hough, Vol. II. p. 129.

guilty of. Let him be regarded as innocent of this. As Mr Hough has shewn, the story may be assigned with great probability to the credulity of the populace or to the partiality of the historian.

Results of the Synod.

The principal changes effected by the Synod of Diamper in the constitution, doctrine and ritual of the Malabar Church, may be here enumerated. In the first place, all present made in their own name and in that of their brethren, and all other ecclesiastics were commanded to make, a profession of the Faith, as it was thenceforth to be taught among them. According to this profession they received, besides the Aquileian Creed, all apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and accepted the Church as the interpreter of Scripture. They acknowledged seven Sacraments, the Real Corporeal Presence, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, the Veneration of Relics, the perpetual Virginity of Our Lady, Indulgences, and the Supremacy of the Roman See. They took the oath of obedience to the Pope, condemned the heresy of Nestorius, acknowledged that there was but one law of Christianity, and renounced the Patriarch of Babylon as one without the pale of salvation[1]. The errors in the Syriac Scriptures were to be amended; the Nestorian saints' days were abolished, and those of Rome substituted for them; many Syrian books were condemned to the flames; and the breviaries and other service-books were to be purged of Nestorian and other errors. The Syrians were placed under the protection of the Portuguese, and made subject to the authority of the Inquisition. A new form of baptism was provided, and regulations were made for the more strict observance of this sacrament. Confirmation was introduced as a sacrament, and all persons were commanded to receive it. The doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass was to be clearly expressed in the Syrian missals, and orders were made concerning the manner of celebration. Penance and Extreme Unction were to be used as sacraments, and the neglect of private confession was declared to be a mortal sin. Ordination was declared sacramental, and many whole-

[1] Acts of the Synod, Sess. II. Decree I.

some regulations were made as to the manner of life and the ministrations of the clergy. Celibacy was imposed upon them. Matrimony, also to be regarded as a sacrament, was placed under new regulations. The diocese was divided into seventy-five parishes, each to have a vicar and as many assistant clergy as were needful. Sundry abuses and disgraceful neglects were to be reformed. Heathen customs were to be abolished. Lastly, the Jesuits were licensed to preach and administer the sacraments throughout the diocese, with or without the permission of the parochial clergy.

Balance of gain and injury.

Doubtless the Church of Malabar, if it could quietly have received and obeyed these decrees, would have been in some respects benefited by the interference of the Romans and the changes which they had brought about. A revival of the missionary spirit, a stricter moral discipline among the laity, and a higher standard of duty among the clergy, might have been among the results. A closer intercourse with the Churches of the West would probably have been instrumental in producing greater enlightenment and a more ardent zeal. Some of the alterations made by the synod were undoubtedly for the better. The casting out of Nestorian error, the rebuilding of decayed churches, the introduction of the parochial system, these were unquestionably benefits. But, on the other hand, many of the acts of the synod opened the door only for corruptions and abuses. The merely speculative error of Nestorius gave way to the more practical errors of purgatorial doctrine, of the veneration of images, of the intercession of saints, of the bodily presence. The quickening of zeal was rendered nugatory, by the addition of novel ordinances through which it might pour itself out in vain ; by the presentation of new objects of adoration upon which the devotional feeling might be dissipated. And, by making the Christians of the Serra subject to the power of the Inquisition, and the influence of the Jesuits, the synod sowed a seed, which might either spring up in discontent, rebellion, a second unsettling of faith; or else (the Jesuits becoming such as history represents them) might produce the bitter fruit of deadness, hypocrisy, disguised heathenism.

Satisfaction of Menezes.

The Archbishop of Goa, however, may be supposed to have regarded his work with unmingled complacency. He had completed the task which the Holy Father had set him. The Christians of Malabar were now members of the Roman Church.

His popularity and labours.

During the remainder of his stay in the Serra he was fully occupied in instructing the cattanars in their new faith, in issuing dispensations, and in making reconciliation of those who had been excommunicate. All went well. Wherever he arrived the people flocked to do him honour. An ode, commemorative of the union of the Churches and of his virtues, was recited publicly before him. He reforms abuses and rebuilds churches. The people of Diamper are re-baptized. At Coriambur, in the Mullée hills, he converts idolaters to the Cross. Here and there a cattanar or other influential person dares to oppose him; but, if the ban of the archbishop is followed by the sudden death of the presumptuous one, the people are ready to see therein a direct intervention of Divine power in behalf of the truth[1]. His courage is still conspicuous. By his bold invectives against their superstitions he excites the deadly hostility of the Naires. At Caramanté his interpreter, in terror at their threats, takes to flight. But Menezes goes on preaching to them. Nor does he preach in vain. Even at Caramanté three of them, overcome by his persistence or persuaded by his arguments, embrace Christianity. He attempts also the conversion of the Rajah of Changanaté, who had zealously seconded him in his reform of Church affairs at that place, and of the Rajah of Cochin; but in both cases without success.

His last acts.

Before he left the country, he saw the orders of the synod

[1] Two or three such instances are recorded during this second visitation of the archbishop, and are regarded by Gouvea and others as miracles. La Croze suggests poison. I mention his conjecture only to protest against it. Probably the two or three instances have grown by the natural process of exaggeration out of one, in which the excommunicated person died soon after his excommunication. Such an event would be regarded by sensible men in ordinary times as a mere coincidence; but an excited and enthusiastic multitude, and a credulous and admiring biographer, might readily regard it as a miracle.

concerning the destruction of Syrian books carried out. At Angamalé, where the bishops had formerly resided, he found the greatest number. He burned all that he could lay his hands upon. Such a destruction of manuscripts, many of them very valuable for their antiquity, seems to us the act of a barbarian. We can only explain it by the intense desire of the archbishop to sever completely all the ties which bound this Church to its past. But we cannot help wishing that, if he must despoil the Indians of their treasures, he had at any rate committed them to the libraries of Europe for preservation, and not robbed Christendom and humanity of so valuable an inheritance. In the course of this visitation he held also an ordination at Carturté. Among his last acts were the transference of the seat of the bishopric to Cranganore, and the appointment of the archdeacon, Francisco Roz, and the governor of the Jesuits' college, as a commission for the present government of the diocese. He persuaded the Syrians also to choose for themselves a bishop, who might be confirmed and consecrated by the Pope. They chose first Menezes himself, and, when he declined, their selection fell upon Francisco Roz.

A drama enacted.

Before he left the Serra, signs of the dissatisfaction which still smouldered in the breasts of some of the Syrians shewed themselves. In the church of Pallur three of the principal Christians, having assembled the congregation, enacted a drama. The personages represented were S. Peter, S. Thomas, and S. Cyriac, the patron saint of the Church. Between the former two a dispute arose, S. Thomas accusing his brother Apostle of enticing his people from their allegiance. S. Cyriac was called in as umpire, and gave his voice for S. Thomas. This drama was repeated in many churches and soon became very popular; for with all their predilection for pomp and state, and power, and for the person of Menezes, the people still clung to their ancient name and the independence of which it was the symbol. They were frightened into quietness, however, when the archbishop professed his belief that the actors were possessed with the devil, and prevailed upon the archdeacon to have them formally exorcised.

Departure of Menezes.

If Menezes had remained in the Serra a few months longer, he might, by his personal influence, have sent to a long slumber all the aspirations of this people for the recovery of their ancient independence; he might have so rivetted their chains as to have secured as a perpetual possession the Church which he had added to Rome. But he was called away suddenly, to celebrate at Goa the obsequies of Philip II. He was soon afterwards made viceroy, and within a few years returned to Europe, where he held the highest offices in Church and state, but died at length in disgrace. His epitaph, as written by a Portuguese, may be read as follows: "This illustrious prelate, had he never returned to Spain, had, in all probability, been made a saint before this time; where, through the difficulty there is in the managery of high posts, whether offered to him or procured by solicitation, he lost all the glory he had acquired in the Indies, in the opinion of the world[1]."

His character.

The character of Menezes is of less importance to the present subject than his measures. It is difficult, however, to take leave of him without some attempt to estimate it. That he was courageous, persevering, thoroughly earnest in his work, the story which I have reviewed furnishes abundant evidence. That in his proselytizing endeavours he had the glory of God and the good of man in view, cannot, in the presence of his own professions and the absence of all conclusive evidence to the contrary, in charity be denied. That his sympathies were wedded to an erroneous creed and an intolerant system; that his zeal and energy were wasted upon an undertaking which history, no less than Protestantism, pronounces to have been useless or worse than useless, must be deplored; but the fact cannot be used in prejudice of his integrity. That he was not averse to the employment of deceit in his political and ecclesiastical schemes is but too patent to the readers of his history[2]. In

[1] Manuel de Faria, *Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. III. quoted by M. Geddes, p. 74.

[2] It is sufficient to refer to the duplicity of the archbishop with reference to his agreement with the Syrian clergy (of which mention has been made) and to his deceit about the repulse of the Portuguese at Cunahlé, and about the death of Philip II., related by his biographer.

this we must lament his obliquity of moral vision, but we must remember that he does not stand alone; that the doctrine that we may do evil that good may come, was once almost universally accepted, in practice, both by churchmen and statesmen. The learning of Menezes has been asserted by Gouvea and Du Halde[1]. It has been controverted by Protestant writers. The chief grounds of controversy are his alleged misuse of the words from the 92nd Psalm, which were continually on his lips: "Bene patientes erunt ut annuncient;" and his mistake about Diodorus and Theodorus. In the former he simply adopted the rendering of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, considering it unprofitable, no doubt, to correct the latter from the original. In the latter case, it is not clear that he actually meant that Diodorus and Theodorus learnt their doctrines from the heresiarch of Byzantium, but simply that they held similar doctrines. With regard to Theodorus he thus only gave expression to the judgment of the Church, which, after his death, in the Council of Constantinople (553 A.D.), condemned him as a Nestorian. The orthodoxy of Diodorus is unimpeachable. His name was associated with that of Nestorius on account of their intimacy. After all, it is possible that the learning of Menezes, like other parts of his character, was more political than theological. Whether in his high posts in Spain and Portugal he retained the same zeal and diligence and the same religious fervour, which distinguished him in India, we cannot tell. It is possible that, like many another man, he was corrupted by success.

Decline of the Portuguese power in India.

It is not my province to trace further the history of the Portuguese and Syrian Churches in India. The decline of the Portuguese power in that land dates from the year 1600, the year following that which witnessed the subjection of the Church of Malabar. That decline is expressly assigned by the historians to the violent and domineering policy which this nation had adopted towards the people of India, and which, in its ecclesiastical aspect, we have witnessed. The prophecy of the emperor of Persia was fulfilled,

[1] *Lettres Edifiantes*, p. 17.

who, when he heard that the king of Portugal had not beheaded any of the Indian viceroys, remarked: "If that is true, it is not possible that the Portuguese should hold the Indies long[1]."

The Church of Malabar renounces the Roman rule.

Within little more than fifty years after the departure of Menezes, the Syrian Christians, goaded to rebellion by the conduct of the Jesuits, shewed symptoms of revolt. A great number of them agreed to obey only their archdeacon, Thomas, until they could obtain a prelate of their ancient Church from Babylon. Some Carmelite missionaries, sent by the Pope to reclaim them, succeeded with the utmost difficulty in preserving about half of the whole body in communion with Rome. The rest remained hostile. They sent not only to the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon, but also to the Jacobite patriarchs of Syria and Egypt, asking for a bishop. How the first prelate who was sent to them was martyred by the Portuguese; how the resentment of the people against the Jesuits daily increased; how the Carmelites laboured to retain the confidence of the Christians; how these were split into many factions; how the power of the Portuguese declined and that of the Dutch grew upon that coast; how the latter at last expelled all European ecclesiastics from the country; and how the ancient diocese of the Serra was divided under several bishops—all this is a story full of interest to those who have watched the proceedings of Menezes in Malabar. But I hasten on to the beginning of the present century.

Condition of the Malabar Christians at the beginning of the 19th century.

The archbishopric of Goa still existed. The prelate who held that office was titular metropolitan of India, and had under his episcopal care 300,000 Christians, descendants or converts of the Portuguese. The bishop of Cochin governed 60,000 Christians.

The ancient Church of Malabar was divided into two Churches. The one, consisting of those who have adhered to the Roman rule, was the Romo-Syrian Church, partly under the authority of the archbishop of Cranganore, who governed 67,000 Christians, and partly under that of

[1] Geddes, p. 28.

the Carmelite vicar-apostolical of Verapoli, who governed 120,000, consisting of Latins, Romo-Syrians and converts from heathenism[1]. The Christians who did not acknowledge Roman rule numbered about 120,000. They were subject to a metran or bishop of their own, residing at Candenad. They were Jacobites, and acknowledged the headship of the Patriarch of Antioch. But, at the time of which we speak, their intercourse with the Patriarch had been for many years interrupted, owing to the violence of the Portuguese, the intrigues of Romish missionaries, and the poverty of the people themselves. Their bishops consequently were people of the country, and succeeded one another by nomination; each prelate, soon after his accession to office, naming a coadjutor, "cum spe successionis[2]. They were under the rule of the Rajah of Travancore, at whose court a British resident was received. They were poor and politically depressed, and, whilst they cherished the memory of better days, they attributed their present low condition to the interference of the Portuguese, which had caused them to become more dependent upon their native princes[3]. Learning, also, was in a low state among them, and they possessed but few copies of the Scriptures[4]. Their liturgy was that which was formerly used at Antioch. They had daily prayers, used incense; thought little of preaching, but retained a very primitive custom of personal benediction at the close of the service[5]. They held the cardinal doctrines of the Atonement by the sufferings and merits of Christ, of Regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and of the Trinity in Unity, in accordance with the terms of the Athanasian Creed. They disclaimed the doctrines of Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, Manes, Marcion, Julian, Nestorius, and the Chalcedonians[6]. They were very proud of their antiquity and their purity, and regarded the Roman Church with intense hostility, alleging

Constitution of the modern Syrian Church.

Their doctrines.

[1] These numbers are taken from Mr Hough, who gives them on the authority of the Abbé Dubois.—See Hough, II. p. 487.

[2] Heber, Letter to Mr Wynn, March 21, 1826.—See *Journal*.

[3] Foy's *Buchanan*, p. 20.

[4] *Ib.* p. 21.

[5] *Ib.* p. 24.

[6] *Ib.* p. 27.

that it had departed from the faith, and that they never could unite with it[1]. Some traces of the leaven of that Church, however, still lingered amongst them[2].

State of the Romo-Syrians.

The Romo-Syrians are described as having overlaid their primitive doctrines and practices with a number of Roman superstitions. Their churches are filled with crosses, pictures of the saints and of the Virgin. The people are very ignorant and are addicted to a multitude of rites. They have mingled heathenism also with their religion. At Anghoor Dr Buchanan saw a tower of Juggernaut, which, he says, was used in celebrating the Christian festivals[3]. In this they resembled the native Christians of the Jesuit mission in Mysore; whose processions in honour of the saints, by reason of the Hindoo pageantry with which they were celebrated, "have been to me," says the Abbé Dubois, "at all times a subject of shame[4]."

In whatever matters, however, these Romo-Syrians are degenerate, there still lives among them the missionary spirit. In the year 1815 the vicariate of Verapoli is described by Dubois as the only mission in which converts were made; and there he says that they were made at the rate of about 400 yearly. The causes which he assigns for these conversions, and the character which he gives of the converts, are not very creditable to the spirituality of the mission. But we may hope that in neither instance does his language apply to all the converts; and we catch a gleam of light upon a somewhat cheerless picture, if we recognize this zeal for the conversion of the heathen as the flicker of that flame which the archbishop Menezes, by example and precept, kindled in a cold Church.

[1] Foy's *Buchanan*, p. 30.

[2] Dr Mullens, *Missions in South India*, pp. 123, 129; *Life of Bp. Middleton*, pp. 59, 60 (published by C. K. S.).

[3] *Researches*, ed. Foy, p. 43.

[4] Quoted by Hough, II. p. 498.

CHAPTER IX.

MODERN MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

Subject of the present Chapter.

In the previous Chapters I have reviewed the efforts of the Portuguese to Christianize or proselytize the natives of Southern India, from the time of their arrival in that land to the end of the sixteenth century. It remains for us now to see what has been done in the same direction within the last fifty or sixty years. If we restrict our view to the southern extremity of the Peninsula which has formed the scene of the chief part of the foregoing history, our present subject divides itself into three parts. These refer, respectively, to the modern missions of the Roman Church in that quarter, and to the Protestant missions in Travancore, and in Tinnevelly, the two districts where Protestant missions have most abundantly flourished[1].

Decayed state of Roman missions circ. 1800.

It has been already mentioned that early in the present century, the missions under the apostolic vicar of Verapoli, the head of the Romo-Syrian Church, were alone, among Roman missions, distinguished by the conversion of the heathen. At that time, however, the ancient Roman missions in other parts of India were suffering from absolute neglect. The Portuguese clergy were busily engaged in taking possession of the vacant churches where once the Jesuit missionaries had preached and said mass. In places more remote, the congregations of native Christians were dependent upon the ministrations of priests so few that they could not visit all their flocks even once in a year[2]. Soon

[1] Kaye, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, p. 469.

[2] Mullens, *Missions in S. India*, p. 135.

Revival of Roman missions.

after the year 1830, steps were taken to remedy this state of things. South India was divided anew into vicariates, and Jesuit priests were sent out to take charge of the various missions. They found, a Romanist writer tells us, that, though the congregations had been so neglected, they had not relapsed into heathenism. "Some indeed had failed, and paganism or heresy had sung its song of triumph over the victims; others had retained only the great truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation, while ignorance and its twin sister superstition had spread a veil over their eyes; but still the prodigious fact was revealed, that more than one million remained after half a century of utter abandonment, who still clung with inflexible constancy to the faith which had been preached to their fathers, and still bowed the head with loving awe when the names of their departed apostles were named amongst them[1]." To the million of Catholics mentioned by this writer, he adds afterwards two hundred thousand attached to the schism of Goa, obeying, that is, the archbishop appointed by the crown of Portugal. These numbers appear, however, from the tables which he afterwards gives[2], to refer to the state of the missions in the year 1857, more than twenty years after the revival of Roman evangelistic effort. In the year 1859 the same author states that the number of new converts in the province of Madura was 2614, and in the vicariate of Verapoli "more than a thousand heathens are being baptized every year, besides many Nestorians and Protestants[3]." If the number of Roman Christians increased at anything like an equal rate during the twenty years of renewed activity, they must have amounted to considerably under a million at the time of the revival.

Success of their modern missions.

However this may have been, it is gratifying to know that in the two vicariates of Verapoli and Quilon, with which we are at present more especially concerned, during the decade 1850 to 1860, the conversions from heathenism numbered more than 1200 yearly[4]. It is no doubt true that

[1] Marshall, *Christian Missions*, Vol. I. p. 383.
[2] Vol. I. p. 385. [3] Vol. I. p. 388. [4] *Ibid.*

these people are converted to a lower form of Christianity than we should wish them to possess, that for the most part they remain in ignorance of the Bible, are taught to rest unduly on confession and sacraments, that they retain the distinction of caste and other heathen customs[1]; yet that they are all elevated in some measure by their embracing Christianity, and that many among them are built up into fervent and pure saints, I see no reason, from all that has been written about them, to doubt. It is true that Dr Mullens asserts, upon the authority of Protestant missionaries, "declared over and over again," that they are "perfect heathen in everything but the name[2]." But we are to remember that the experience upon which such testimony is founded must, from the nature of the case, be very partial; and we must set against it the statements of the Roman missionaries themselves, and the testimony of a few Protestants who have had opportunities of judging more favourably of these people[3]. The men who labour among the heathen in India now, seem to be, according to their measure, imitators of their great forerunner Francis Xavier. "They eat plainly, dress simply, and have few luxuries at home. They travel much, are greatly exposed, live poorly, and toil hard. I have heard of a bishop living in a cave on fifty rupees a month, and devotedly attending the sick when friends and relatives had fled from fear[4]." There are missionaries among them, according to the confession of the same writer (who in general appears to speak with considerable animus against all that is Roman), who act from very high motives, and are full of affection for the souls of the people[5]. We may not doubt, then, that the preaching

Character of their converts.

Character of the missionaries.

[1] Mullens, *Missions in S. India*, p. 138. [2] *Ib.* p. 139.

[3] See Marshall, Vol. I. pp. 390—403, passim. Too much weight, however, must not be attached to the number and respectability of the witnesses cited by this writer. The testimony of some of them would bear a different complexion if quoted at full length, and even as they are quoted most of them bear witness to the numbers, discipline and attention to outward forms of the Roman converts, rather than to their spirituality of life. There are a few which are really to the point.

[4] Mullens, p. 139. [5] *Ib.* p. 137.

of the Gospel by the mouths of such men, in spite of the errors which still infect their system, and in spite of some laxity in the recognition of heathen customs, is fruitful in the conversion of poor idolaters, and in the instruction and building up of disciples. Among the higher classes they make scarcely any converts. Of the Brahmins a missionary writes: "I fear not to call them whitened sepulchres, with some exceptions. Christianity makes among them but little progress[1]." Like Xavier and his successors in the sixteenth century, they devote considerable attention to education. Among the seminaries which they have established in different parts, for the instruction of Christian boys and the training of native priests, I may mention, as entering into our present field of view, two at Verapoli, one at Quilon, and one at Mangalore.

Protestant missions in Tinnevelly and South Travancore.

I turn now to the Protestant missions to the Shanars and others, in Tinnevelly and in South Travancore. The Shanars are a tribe of Tartar aborigines, who occupy a great portion of the southern extremity of India. In the eastern half they extend from Madura to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin they have advanced about thirty miles northward, throughout the whole breadth of Travancore. In Tinnevelly, or Pandy (as some of the natives call it), they form about half of the whole population, which numbers about 800,000; and in South Travancore they are reckoned at 100,000. They are a subject caste, and live by hard labour upon the produce of the palm-tree, and such other fruits as the ground of a somewhat barren region will afford. They are in general very poor and ignorant, and their religion, like that of other aborigines, is devil-worship. They are described as very degraded in their moral character. "Among them there exist open, habitual, and shameless lying; vice and immorality of all degrees; fawning to the great; oppression of the poor; total disregard of truth and honour; no kindness towards the brute creation, and no compassion towards their fellow-men[2]."

The Shanars, their character.

[1] Father Bertrand of Madura (1839) quoted by Marshall, Vol. I. p. 391.

[2] Mullens, p. 99.

It is stated, however, to their honour, that, though they possess ample material in the palm-juice for making intoxicating spirit, they are not in the least a drunken race[1]. The Paravars of the Fishery Coast, among whom Xavier laboured, and who still cherish his memory and practise devoutly the rites which he taught them, seem to belong, if not to the same tribe with the Shanars, to at least a kindred tribe. In many respects they are alike. The Shanars, like the Paravars, are poor, outcast, and ignorant; like them also they readily respond to the preaching of the gospel, "they are easy to win, but hard to raise[2]." Some efforts were made among these people towards the close of the last century by the missionaries connected with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. During the early years of the present century, however, the work languished; and it is only within the last thirty years that it has been prosecuted at all points with any considerable vigour or success. It is now the most prosperous scene of evangelistic labours in India. It is occupied by the agents of three English Societies—that for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary, and the London Missionary Societies. The agents of the first are stationed in the North-eastern part of Tinnevelly, of the second in the South and West, and of the third in South Travancore. In the year 1868, the first of these Societies had seven stations in the district, with fourteen missionaries and two hundred and fifty-seven catechists. Their converts numbered twelve thousand seven hundred and fourteen, of whom two thousand two hundred and forty-nine were communicants. There were, besides, six thousand seven hundred and nineteen unbaptized persons under Christian instruction. During the year, three hundred and twenty-three adults, and six hundred and two infants, were received into the Church by baptism[3]. About the same time, the Church Missionary Society had fourteen stations, with ten European and thirty-one native clergymen,

Commencement of the mission.

Its present condition.

[1] Mullens, p. 96.
[2] Mullens, *Ten Years' Miss. Labour in India.*
[3] *S. P. G. Report* for year 1868.

and six hundred and seventeen lay teachers, of whom six hundred and thirteen were natives. The baptized converts numbered thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, of whom five thousand eight hundred and sixty-five were communicants. The baptisms during twelve months were two hundred and seventy-two adult, and eleven hundred and nine infant[1]. In the year 1862 the London Missionary Society had eight English missionaries, and a hundred and eighty-nine catechists. The number of native Christians was twenty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, of whom twelve hundred and eighty-four were communicants. Up to that time we are told that in South Travancore twenty thousand devil-images had been destroyed, and two Roman churches had been made over to Protestant missionaries[2].

Taking then these missions of the three Societies together, we have, as the result of English evangelistic effort among the heathen of the southern extremity of India, a body of about seventy-five thousand Christians, with a staff of native clergy and teachers numbering upwards of eleven hundred.

Character of the converts.

But we have seen already, in the case of the early Roman missions, that it is unsafe to take numbers only as a test of success. The question arises, are these converts of the English missions nominal or real Christians? The answer no doubt must be that the majority of them are very imperfect indeed in their religious attainments, some of them but heathen under a new name; but that there are many among them whose Christianity is fervent and enlightened, in whose hearts, as their lives bear witness, the fear and the love of God have taken deep root.

Testimony of the missionaries.

Let us hear what the missionaries and others have to say about this. Dr Caldwell, the Propagation Society's missionary at Edeyengoody, quoted by Dr Mullens[3], says:

[1] *C. M. S. Report* for the year ending March 31, 1869.

[2] Mullens, *Missions in S. India*, p. 110. I regret that I have been unable to obtain more recent information concerning the work of this Society.

[3] *Ten Years' Miss. Labour in India*, p. 98.

"The character of the converts is not quite satisfactory in Christian knowledge or piety. But there are good hopes of stability. They submit to strict *moral* discipline, and to continued demands on their liberality. Piety and knowledge seem likely to improve. There has been a marked improvement within the last four years." "There are few marks of spiritual life among the majority of catechists, schoolmasters, and people. We can rarely rely upon their perfect truthfulness. Still there has been much improvement of late." The same missionary, in preaching at Palamcottah (October 21st, 1866), said: "I admit that the native Christians who are to be regarded as earnest, consistent Christians, form only a small minority of the whole number[1]." Dr Brown, in his *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, says of the converts of Tinnevelly, that most of them could not be deemed Christians, and but a small proportion of them were baptized[2].

A minority of real Christians.

It is not denied then that only a very few converts out of the numbers mentioned above are really penetrated with the spirit of Christianity. But, on the other hand, there are some, who may even be counted by thousands in the whole of the district under review, who are devout and consistent. The Rev. J. F. Kearns, Propagation Society's missionary at Puthiamputhur, writes: "I know that among our native Christians there are, alas! too many whose lives could not be held up to anyone as worthy of imitation; but I also know that, despite the poisoned atmosphere in which they live, despite trials and difficulties of which the English Christian is ignorant; despite the evil influence and examples which beset them on every side; there are many endeavouring to lead Christian lives, availing themselves of every means of grace, travelling on foot to receive the sacraments, ten, twenty, and thirty miles[3]." "Many of them," writes Dr Mullens, "live most consistent lives and adorn the Gospel[4]." Testimony to the same effect may be found in

[1] *Mission Field*, Vol. XII. p. 242.
[2] Vol. II. p. 345.
[3] *Ib.* Vol. XII. p. 107.
[4] *Missions in S. India*, p. 114.

Their liberality.

every missionary report from the district. But we are not entirely dependent upon the impressions of the missionaries. We may apply to these converts our Saviour's own test: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The Shanars are poor, as I have said; yet the churches of Tinnevelly and South Travancore, of which they form the principal part, are very liberal in their support of Church work. In the year 1866, the congregations planted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began to maintain, in part, their own native clergy; and though fears were entertained of the success of the measure on account of its novelty, those fears, even in the first year of its trial, were proved to be groundless[1]. In 1868, besides the funds raised for this purpose, the Christians of these stations contributed 5150 rupees towards an Endowment Fund for the district[2]. The same system is at work in the stations of the Church Missionary Society, and the results are even more satisfactory. The contributions increase in amount yearly[3]. The whole amount contributed in Tinnevelly by the native Christians during the four years 1858 to 1862 was 28,000 rupees[4]. Nor is that sure sign of a living Church, the active missionary spirit, wanting among these Christians. Their contributions come in freely not only for the support of their own clergy, but for the supply of teachers and books for their heathen neighbours. And, in the actual work of preaching to the idolaters, the native clergy and catechists take their full share[5].

Results of the missions.

Behold once more, then, the result of the modern missions in Tinnevelly and South Travancore. We have, besides many hundreds of Christians who have gone to their rest, a body of seventy-five thousand or more, who have renounced heathenism and are living in the profession of Christianity under the direction of Christian pastors. Many of them are but very indifferent Christians, but, as a body, they will

[1] *Mission Field*, Vol. XII. p. 105.
[2] *S. P. G. Report*, 1868.
[3] *C. M. S. Report*, March, 1869.
[4] Mullens, *Ten Years' Miss. Labour in India*, p. 110.
[5] *Mission Field*, p. 106.

bear comparison with the baptized inhabitants of any large parish in England[1]. We have a proportion of these—how great or how small is really known to God only—who have a true appreciation of the benefits of the Gospel and a sincere love for Christ. Even if we could ascertain the number of these, I question whether it would be quite fair to measure the usefulness of these missions solely by it. For of the thousands of baptized converts who would then be left out of our consideration, surely some are the better for their change of religion; are making progress perhaps towards higher knowledge and a purer life; are, at any rate, freed from some degrading superstitions and some of the horrible cruelties of heathenism. Among them may be—no doubt are—pretenders, who for some temporal advantage have assumed the mask of Christianity; but of the rest, whose piety and consistency are not satisfactory to their teachers, what shall we say? Surely we may hold it as certain that, if they know anything at all of the love of Christ for them, they must be the happier, the better, for worshipping Him rather than a demon; and surely we may hope that, though to many of them their natural vices and infirmities still cling, and are brought into greater prominence by their profession of Christianity, they may yet become, under careful teaching and the operation of Divine grace, ripe and devout Christians.

Nor is this all. The work is still going on. I think we may say that a new and completer work is beginning. Continual progress.

Considerable progress is reported from year to year in actual conversion. Besides the renunciation of heathenism by individuals, instances are reported of whole villages, in which there had been but a few converts, desiring religious instruction, and turning their devil-temples into houses of Christian prayer[2]. Checks there are and drawbacks. Thus, in the year 1868, Dr Caldwell, after reporting considerable progress in other places, writes of the Edeyengoody district: "The year has been marked by ebullitions of immorality."

[1] See Dr Caldwell's Sermon, *Mission Field*, XII. 242.

[2] *C. M. S. Report*, 1869, pp. 136, 143.

And the Rev. S. G. Coyle, of Ramnad, says: "Five villages, entered last year on the list as containing catechumens, are this year removed from the list owing to the unsatisfactory conduct of the people[1]." But from all the accounts which come to us, it appears that even in numbers the Church of Christ in Southern India is rapidly advancing, whilst at the same time considerable progress is being made in consolidation and in the edification of souls.

Indirect results.

Nor may we limit the effects of Christian work in India to the number of those who actually renounce idolatry and are baptized. From all parts of that land there comes home to us now the report of the breaking down of old beliefs and systems, and the waking up of the intelligence of the people to the recognition of their need of a purer religion. The Society called the "Brahma Samaj" is but one out of the many outgrowths of this movement of the native mind. And traces of this changed attitude of Hindoo thought towards Christianity are found, as in other places, so in this southern district of which I write. Still, as in the days of Xavier, the higher castes hold aloof from Christianity, though instances are not now altogether unknown of the conversion even of Brahmans. The Church Missionary Report of 1869 contains the account of one very interesting case of the kind at Palamcottah. But, though generally standing afar off, and repelled perhaps by the very success of the Gospel among the lower castes, they are not uninfluenced. Some missionaries tell us that many are really convinced of the truth of Christianity and the folly of their own religious system, but, from prejudice and the power of caste, refuse to make an open profession. Dr Caldwell, in 1862, arranged the heathen population of Tinnevelly under three classes. These were, first, those who had lost all faith in Hinduism, but still clung to its rites from custom or social prejudices; secondly, those who knew nothing of Christianity and were contented in their heathenism; and, thirdly, those who were jealous of Christianity. The first class, he assures us, is numerous, especially among the higher ranks. Mr Kearns, in his report for

[1] *Mission Field*, Oct. 1868, pp. 286, 287.

1866, after remarking that there are no signs of the heathen, as a body, or even in very large numbers, embracing Christianity, proceeds: "They have, nevertheless, undergone a great change. At the commencement of our work they would scarcely listen to us; now they will gladly hear us, and with courtesy too, and many of them have a considerable knowledge of Scripture. The Hindu mind is undergoing a great change[1]." The Rev. Jesudasen John, native clergyman at Kadachapuram, tells us that "Prejudices are weakening among the heathen, and many acknowledge the superiority of the Gospel." Again, "It is quite evident that the people in general have very little reverence for their own religious systems, their creeds, and the customs of their forefathers. In my conversation with a learned heathen about nine months ago, he told me that their gods were without power, and their religion composed of men[2]."

Value of this.

Though, in itself, this weakening of old beliefs and removing of old restraints, might perhaps be a subject of regret; yet, if we regard it as an onward step towards the reception by the people of India of a more enlightened faith, and a higher and a purer law of moral and social duty, and a more cheerful and free-hearted worship, we cannot but rejoice that English Christianity and English education[3] have been able to bring about such a result.

Protestant mission among the Syrians.

Passing now northward in Travancore let us see what has been done in modern times among the Syrian Christians, either by way of stirring up a more vigorous life among them, or of assimilating them to other Churches.

Within the present century the Roman Church has confined her interference to the private intrigues of ecclesiastics, having had no power in their country to back her

[1] *Mission Field*, Vol. XII. p. 108.

[2] *C. M. S. Report*, 1869, p. 139.

[3] The mention of education affords an opportunity for recording the large use which is made by our two Church Societies of this means for reaching and influencing the people of India. In the district of which I am speaking the Propagation Society has 135 schools for the instruction of native children, with an average attendance of 3285; and the Church Missionary Society has 316, with an average attendance of 9459.

pretensions by force, as in former times. England being now supreme upon those shores, peaceful rulers like the vicar-apostolic of Verapoli may claim her protection, but the doings of another Menezes are no longer possible. As for England's own Church, she and the civil government may share between them the reproach rather of neglect than of undue interference. Early in the present century, however, some interest began to be shewn in the condition of this ancient Church. Within a few months it was visited on a mission of inquiry by Dr Kerr, sent from Madras by Lord William Bentinck, and by Dr Buchanan, sent from Calcutta by Lord Wellesley. One of their chief objects was to ascertain how far it was possible to bring about an union between the Syrians and the Church of England, though there was no desire or intention to effect such an union at the expense of the independence of the Christians of S. Thomas. Dr Buchanan obtained from them a number of manuscripts of the Scriptures in Syriac, promising to send them in return a hundredfold in print. The metran or bishop, Dionysius, was ready to meet the advances of the English clergy towards union, and willingly permitted the circulation of the Scriptures among his people. At the same time the British resident in Travancore, Colonel Macauley, interested himself in the state of the Church, and, by his influence with the Ráni, brought about a great improvement in the political and social condition of the people. His successor, Colonel Munro, further engaged in endeavours to promote their spiritual revival. He found serious dissensions among them, which he endeavoured to heal. He established a college for them at Cottayam, which was liberally endowed by the Ráni with gifts of land and money. He intended it chiefly for the education of the clergy, but his design embraced also the instruction of the youth of the district, the multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, and their translation into Malay-alim, the vernacular language. He was further desirous that an English clergyman should come to the help of the Syrians; and, accordingly, the Church Missionary Society sent out Mr Norton, who reached

Early neglect.

Mission of inquiry, 1806.

Establishment of the College at Cottayam, and of the C.M.S. mission, 1816.

Cochin in May, 1816, and took up his residence at Allepie. Thus the modern mission of the English Church among the Christians and heathen of North Travancore had its beginning. In the autumn of the same year the metran and his coadjutor, Mar Philoxenus, received Bishop Middleton at Cottayam, and earnestly desired him to send them supplies of the Syriac Scriptures, declaring that a greater blessing could not be conferred upon their Church. There were already two hundred students assembled in the college. The English missionary had been well received by the Syrians, and the metran had granted him permission to preach in their churches, as soon as he should have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language. The Bishop of Calcutta, however, advised him to use this privilege very cautiously, for fear of sowing fresh dissensions[1].

Visit of Bp Middleton.

In 1819 there were three missionaries at work about Cottayam, who reported that no fewer than fifty thousand Christians were accessible to them, and "expressed it as their purpose unitedly to keep up the most close and intimate acquaintance with the Syrian bishop and his cattanars, with a view to elevate and establish their religious views, and thus ultimately elevate the people at large[2]." They joined the college and endeavoured to improve its organization and efficiency.

Extension of the mission.

In the year 1821 Bishop Middleton visited the Syrian Church a second time. He set his face against any alterations brought about in this ancient community by foreign intervention to the jeopardy of its independence and distinctive character. He had an interview with the metran, and inquired carefully into the work of the English missionaries. "He was satisfied," we are told, "that their object was the same as his own—to furnish the Syrian Church with every assistance in their power towards the reformation of erroneous doctrines and practices and the training up of a well-instructed clergy, that it might worthily occupy an

Second visit of Bp Middleton.

[1] *Life of Bp Middleton* (Christian Knowledge Soc.), p. 66.

[2] Mullens, *Missions in S. India*, p. 127.

important independent position as the Church of Travancore, and become a centre of light to the heathen around it[1]."

Further progress of the mission.

In the meantime progress was being made. Three seminaries and a great number of parochial schools were established under the influence of the English resident and missionaries. Books were prepared in the Malay-alim language. The New Testament was translated. A printing press was set up at Cottayam. New stations were established. More missionaries entered the field. The metran and his clergy were well disposed towards the mission. When they had discovered the groundlessness of their first suspicions that these new Christians might be either Romanists in disguise, or as aggressive as Romanists; when they had perceived that no assault was to be made upon their liberties, but that only a revival of spiritual religion was aimed at, they had expressed their assent and their readiness to assist in the work. Perhaps they were somewhat influenced by the improvement in their secular and political concerns, which the English proved themselves able to effect. At any rate they cordially accepted the help which the English gave them. The metran lived in the college at Cottayam and took part in its management. Nothing was done by the missionaries in his diocese without his consent. Priests, students, scholars, all connected with the mission, were subject to his ecclesiastical authority[2]."

Bp Heber invited to arbitrate in their dissensions.

In the year 1826 this good feeling towards the English still continued. In that year, as we learn from the letters of Bishop Heber, rival metrans claimed the allegiance of the Malay-alim Church. The Christians had been living contentedly, under their Bishop Philoxenus and his coadjutor and intended successor[3], Dionysius, both men of high character; when suddenly there arrived from Syria two Jacobite monks, Athanasius and Abraham, whom the Patriarch of Antioch had sent out as bishop and archdeacon.

[1] *C. K. S. Life of Bp Middleton*, p. 103.

[2] Mullens, *Missions in S. India*, p. 129.

[3] See above, Ch. VIII.

The Bishop of Calcutta chanced to meet them at Bombay, and treated them courteously, and admitted them to communion in the Church. He sent directions, however, to the English missionaries at Allepie and Cottayam to interfere in no way in the disputes which were likely to arise. When these two new ecclesiastics reached the country, immediately a very furnace of controversy was kindled. They behaved with extreme violence, excommunicated Philoxenus and Dionysius, annulled the orders which they had conferred, dissolved the marriages which had been contracted under their sanction. It must have been very difficult for the English missionaries to remain entirely neutral in these disputes; since the dignitaries, who were thus threatened with deposition, had always been their friends. We may doubt, indeed, whether they were able to follow in all things the directions of their bishop. However, if they remained neutral, the civil government did not. The Ráni and the Resident both issued orders to Athanasius and his colleague to leave the country; and even while the Bishop of Calcutta, having been invited by the Syrians to act as umpire in the dispute, was taking measures for the assembling of a diocesan synod, news came to him that they had departed[1]. The further efforts of this good prelate to heal the divisions of the Syrian Church were cut short by his death.

Interruption of cordial feeling.

Such was apparently the cordial feeling of the laity and country-born clergy of the ancient Church towards Anglicanism, as displayed during the life of Bishop Heber. But this good understanding did not long continue. The majority of the Syrians clung tenaciously to their old errors and practices. The missionaries discovered that they had no recognized authority in the affairs of the Church, that their influence over the mass of the people depended upon the goodwill of the metran, and that some of the clergy were hostile to them, looking upon them as innovators in doctrine and ritual. In time a new metran arose who re-

[1] Letter to Mr Wynn, March 21, 1826.

garded them with no friendly eyes. All his influence was thrown into the opposite scale. He was "irreligious," or his religion was not according to their method. He went back in many things to the old corrupt practices which his immediate predecessors had laid aside. He taught, even in the college, doctrines directly opposed to those which the English taught. So it was proved that, at present at any rate, the two Churches could not work together. The coldness or jealousy of the Syrians, the disappointment, perhaps resentment, of the English, continued and increased, until, in the year 1837, the Bishop of Calcutta disconnected the Church Missionary Society from the Syrian Church. "The missionaries left the college; their assistants left the Syrian body; their converts did the same; and the whole drew off from the decayed Church, exactly as converts in Bengal and Tinnevelly separate themselves from the heathen[1]."

Severance of the mission from the Syrian Church.

Thus an independent English mission was set up in the midst of the Syrians. This mission is now in a flourishing condition, having spread its operations throughout Cochin and North Travancore. There are ten stations, with eight European and fourteen native clergy, and a hundred and ninety-nine lay teachers. It numbers twelve thousand seven hundred and thirty-two Christians, of whom three thousand one hundred and seventy-four are communicants. During the year ending with March 1869, there were six hundred and thirty-nine adult, and four hundred and ninety-two infant baptisms; the adult increase including a body of two hundred heathen slaves, who in one district embraced Christianity. Besides the college at Cottayam, which is under the charge of English clergy, there are upwards of a hundred and twenty schools and seminaries in the district, in which Syrian and heathen children receive education. The evangelistic work is carried on both among Syrians and heathen. Several cases have occurred in which high Brahmins, Nairs, and Sudras have come forward to profess Christ[2]. There is a very interesting sub-mission to the

Present prosperity of the mission.

[1] Mullens, p. 130.

[2] Mullens, p. 131.

wild hill-race of Araans, who dwell in the jungles on the slope of the Ghauts, which has been attended with great success.

Its influence upon the Syrian Church.

As regards the Syrian Church, the most valuable part of the work of the mission is its indirect influence, in raising the spiritual tone, and purifying the doctrines of the cattanars and deacons. At Cottayam College there is a class of deacons belonging to the ancient Church, who study Syriac, Church History, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Bible. As an instance of the influence thus exerted, the missionary at Thallawaddie tells us of a priest of the Syrian Church, who, having been educated at Cottayam, "is prepared to support the reformation of his Church to the fullest extent, consistent with its distinct existence. He has discontinued the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, and auricular confession. He uses the vulgar tongue in the church services, celebrates matrimony on week-days, and administers the elements in both kinds[1]." In this way, and by the circulation of the Scriptures, much may be done, and much, though perhaps at present unseen, is being done, to elevate and purify the Church of S. Thomas. The danger lies in the direction of undue attempts at proselytism on the part of our missionaries. If they will remember that their chief and most pressing work is among the heathen, that, in dealing with the Syrians, their object should be, not so much to bring them over to our communion as to enlighten and spiritualize them, and so make them instruments for the purging of their own Church, they will surely avoid many perils and scandals, and have a more reasonable hope of success. The unhappy condition of this Church, which for many years has been rent by the disputes of rival claimants for the bishopric, and which, in many respects, has departed from primitive purity of doctrine and of life, calls for deep sympathy and compassion from us, for continued and earnest intercession, for hearty endeavours, not to increase its divisions, not to drain its small remaining strength, but to help

[1] *C. M. S. Report*, 1869, p. 153.

in building up its faith and vigour; that, under God's blessing, we may be made instrumental in restoring it to the peace and hope which it enjoyed before the long train of evils, Nestorian error, heathen corruptions, papal interference, ecclesiastical ambition, Jacobite supineness, ignorance, neglect, began to do their deadly work upon it.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

Attempts to unite the Syrian Church of Malabar with other Churches unsuccessful.

THE attempt of the Portuguese Church to unite to itself the Church of Malabar was attended with complete success, but the union which was brought about was of brief duration. The attempt of the English missionaries to bring about an union between that Church and our own, undertaken in a better spirit, and carried on by more Christian methods, has ended, so far as direct results may be reckoned, in failure. It has not hitherto appeared to be the will of God that that Church should part with its independence and distinct existence. Is not this one of the lessons by which Christendom may learn that though outward unity is doubtless to be desired, it is not needful for the Christianizing of the world? There is an inner unity, consisting in the holding of the one Faith, the worship of the one Father, the dependence upon the one Mediator, the sharing in the one Baptism, which may subsist among Christians in the midst of much diversity of tradition, of government, of opinion, of ritual; and which, warmed and quickened by the grace of charity, may secure for the Church and her work in the world all or more than all the advantages, which we promise to ourselves from the combination of systems and polities. This is, apparently, by God's help, within our reach; the other seems likely to remain for many ages the dream of visionaries. For the exercise and manifestation of this inner spirit of union, the scenes of missionary labour afford the best opportunity. And, among those scenes, those who know India well give it the pre-eminence. "In no part of the world, I believe," writes Sir Bartle Frere, "would it be possible to realize so fully the

Inference.

Inner union more to be desired.

brotherhood of all who bear the name of Christ[1]." Shall we not then strive, with earnest prayer and watchfulness, to present to the sight of the heathen in that land the proofs of this oneness of faith and of desire; in our dealings with foreign Churches, the Roman, the Portuguese, the Syrian; in our dealings with the Christians of other names in England, who go forth thither as the messengers of the Gospel of God's love; and in our relations among ourselves, as a Church acting by means of two great missionary arms, distinct in their operations, but not rivals?

Claims of the Syrian Christians upon our sympathy.

The Church of Malabar possesses a name venerable for its antiquity—a name and traditions valuable for the protest which they contain against the attempt to centralize Christianity by making all Churches dependent upon one see. Why should we wish that name to be swallowed up in another; or those traditions to be overlaid by the traditions of a different age and a different climate? That ancient name is sullied by heresy, decay, superstition. The fire, once kindled on the shores of India by S. Thomas or some other primitive preachers, lived for many years only as a few smouldering embers upon a hearth almost cold. Once or twice the spark was well-nigh quenched. But never, we may well believe, has the spirit of Christianity ceased entirely to dwell in that Church, and to animate, though not with very vigorous life perhaps, some of its members. And now at length we, who boast a purer creed and a surer confidence, who thank God that we belong to a branch of the Church Catholic which is blessed with an open Bible and with abundant means and gifts of grace, and which is not utterly inattentive to the wants and claims of brother humanity in all parts of the world; we, I say, have been brought by the good providence of God into contact with this ancient and decayed Church, and have been at length stirred up to take an interest in her welfare. What are then our duties with reference to her? A branch of the Church of Christ, therefore knit to us by the closest of ties; ancient, therefore claiming our veneration; temporally depressed, spiritually

[1] *The Church and the Age*, p. 377.

beclouded, therefore needing our interference and our help; how is she to be treated? Clearly it is not for us to add to her troubles and difficulties by any attempt to thrust our theories and traditions into the working of her constitution; not to suffer this to be done, unless it be done freely and voluntarily by the Church herself. By no means is it our duty, nor is it our disposition as a Church, to attempt to force our ecclesiastical system upon the Syrians, to the sacrifice of their independence. This attempt we have once seen made, and we have watched the disastrous effects. If the Church which made it had been pure in doctrine and primitive in ritual, the effects would scarcely have been less disastrous upon the subdued Church. If there had been no poisonous shade of mediæval dogmas to corrupt the life and vigour of the souls upon which it fell, there would still have been the smart of an enforced submission, the shame of lost liberties, the resentment against foreign interference, sparks of discontent which would have blazed out one day in revolt and schism. What then? Shall we seek an outward alliance on equal terms with these Christians? Shall we at once admit them to the full privilege of communion in all spiritual things, and demand from them in return the same privilege for ourselves? If it might be so, it is a thing which seems greatly to be desired; but, without some sacrifice of principle on one side or on the other, the complete realization of this project seems yet impossible. What then? Shall we, perceiving their abuses and corruptions, endeavour to win over the people of this Church to our own communion; and so drain off her most vigorous life into a channel which shall be separate from the course of her ancient stream, and set up in the Serra a new schism of Anglo-Syrians, or, in the end, blot out the ancient name from the map of Christendom, and make the Church of S. Thomas a Church of history only? I venture to think that this is not the line which God has marked out for us, though in such an attempt there might be some probability of partial success. What then? Shall we ignore and altogether neglect these Syrian Christians, and, whilst we pray and labour for the enlightenment

Our duties towards them.

Not to make them subject to our Church.

Not at present to seek an outward alliance.

Not to proselytize.

Not to neglect.

of the heathen, suffer them to remain depressed and ignorant, without an effort to raise and teach them? Not so, either; lest we be found with Cain asking, "Am I my brother's keeper?" No. We *must* regard them; we *must* help them. Whilst we continue our efforts to alleviate their earthly distresses, counting them as of the household of God, we must persevere also in our endeavours to enlighten and purify their faith. We have done much for them already. We have given them the Word of God in their own language; we have given them seminaries and schools; we have sent to labour in their neighbourhood devoted missionaries. In the continuance, in the extension of these gifts, lies at present our duty to them. Let the Syrian Christian read, by the bounty of his English brother, the charter of his salvation in his own native tongue. Let his children, by the same bounty, obtain that instruction, secular and religious, which, without it, they could not obtain. Let his future pastors and teachers be introduced, by the same bounty, to the learning and piety of the Church of the West. Let him see, pictured before him in the missions of his English brethren, the quietness and peace and strength of true Christianity. Let him learn from them the plain and simple story of the love of God manifest in the flesh. Let him witness there the power of the Cross to charm and melt the stubborn and stony hearts of men. If he be a true lover of his Saviour, he will probably desire to see in his own Church the same simplicity of doctrine and of ordinance; the same dependence upon the pure and plain Gospel; he will probably long to cast away his corruptions, which he finds to be opposed to this simplicity; he will learn to address his prayers to One only Intercessor, and to trust in Him more, and in the ordinances of men less. But if he seek, without the most cogent reason, to leave the Church of his fathers and to join himself to those who have taught him the truth, let him be reminded that his duty is to remain, so long as is possible, at the post where God has placed him; that salvation is not confined to any one branch of the Church visible, but that, wherever the Son of God is, there is life; let him

But to enlighten.

be admonished that no man is without his influence for good if he chooses to use it; that, be he cattanar, deacon, or layman, he may do something for the purifying and elevating of his Church, and that that something he may probably do better by remaining in it than by leaving it. Let him still be welcome to instruction and advice; let him be admitted to all privileges in our Church which he may desire, and in which he can share without forfeiting those of his own. Doubtless there will be cases where this course would be impracticable; cases in which the awakened soul can find no rest and no satisfaction in the cold rites and dead forms of his own Church, and must pass over or perish. Let extreme caution be used in the acceptance of such proselytes. They will become fewer, the more the doctrine and ritual of the Syrian Church are enlightened and inhabited by a living faith. Thus may we hope to be the means of purifying without weakening, of reforming without destroying, this ancient community; and some day we may be able to withdraw, and leave it to assert its true position as the Church of Christ in Malabar, committing to its hands our interest in the spiritual condition of the Mahometans and heathen of that country. So shall we have accomplished, by God's grace, a worthy work, far higher and nobler and more enduring than the Roman archbishop of Goa either achieved or desired.

Such are the thoughts suggested by a review of the facts treated of in this Essay, so far as they refer to the history and present condition of the Syrian Church of Malabar. When, leaving this branch of the subject, we turn our eyes upon that chapter out of the history of missions to the heathen which is here presented, there is one circumstance which at once arrests our attention. It is the great difference between the number of converts reported to have been made under the mission of Francis Xavier, and the numbers which are now reported even from the most successful scenes of evangelistic labour. It has been mentioned above[1], that that great missionary is said to have

Missions to the heathen.

Contrast between the numbers of converts under Xavier and under modern missionaries.

[1] Ch. II.

baptized ten thousand idolaters in a month, and that, after nine years, his converts in one district only were reckoned at five hundred thousand. Without quoting again the numbers, which I have given in the last chapter as the result of missionary effort in a much more extensive district, by many more labourers, during many more years, it is at once evident that there is a very remarkable incongruity between these two phases of missionary enterprise. The Romanist will, of course, attribute the difference to the immense superiority of his own Church as the only depository of truth, and to the peculiar self-denial and energy of the men whom she has employed. He will point, in confirmation of his view, to the similarly large numbers which, in Madura and in other parts of India and of the world, have obeyed the first preaching of the Gospel by missionaries of his communion. Gladly would I leave the controversy untouched, and record only my joy and thankfulness that the Roman Church has been made the means of bringing so many ignorant heathen out of their idolatry. But when the matter, thus regarded, is made an argument for the truth and catholicity of Rome to the exclusion of all other Churches, it is impossible to pass it by without comment. It is as painful to every Christian heart of every communion as it can be to the most devout Romanist, to think of, and to call attention to, the other side of the picture, which is left out of this argument altogether; to repeat, after Dubois and others, the story of the failure and the disappointment, which have in many cases formed the after-taste of that cup whose first taste has been so sweet to the propagandists of that communion. It is painful to declare, after M. Hébert, governor of Pondicherry, that the converts of the Jesuits were "of scandalous life, lazy, superstitious, and almost universally given to thieving[1];"—to recall to mind the conduct of the converts in Tanjore, who, in the persecution of the year 1701, so says Father Norbert, flocked to the pagodas to renounce Christianity[2];—to think of the sixty

The Romanist controversy.

[1] Quoted by Mackay, *Jesuits' Missions in India.*

[2] *Mémoires Historiques*, I. 40.

thousand Roman Christians of Mysore, who in 1784 apostatized under the threats of Tippoo Sultan[1]. Painful is it, above all, to us who have followed with love and admiration the steps of the saintly Xavier, to reflect that he also left India disappointed and discouraged. Yet these things must not be forgotten when we estimate the argument referred to. Nor must we forget that, though the Roman missionaries are busy now; though they are self-denying, active, and persevering; though they draw their converts not only from among the heathen, but also from the ignorant and debased of Christian nations, they reckon their converts, just as Protestant missionaries do, not by ten thousand a month for a single missionary, but by the thousand or two thousand a year in a whole vicariate. We may then, I think, safely take leave of this controversy. I doubt not that earnest and faithful missionaries of every Church, who teach the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, will be instrumental in some measure, under God's providence, in bringing the souls of men out of the darkness and ignorance and cruelty of heathenism.

Causes of the difference.

The contrast between Xavier's five hundred thousand in nine years, and the seventy-five thousand of Protestant missionaries after half a century of labour, still remains to be accounted for. Something, I think, must be allowed for the exaggeration of historians and partizans; something also must be allowed for the ease with which baptism could under his ministry be obtained. We must remember also that the Paravars had already been converted to nominal Christianity, by the deliverance from oppression which the Portuguese arms had wrought for them, before Xavier appeared among them; and that in Travancore, the scene of the ten thousand baptisms per month, his influence over the people dated from the time when he delivered them, by his decision and bravery, from the inroad of their predatory neighbours. In this manner, the numbers of conversions or baptisms, which attest the success of his direct missionary work, are considerably reduced. But enough remains, after

Exaggeration.

Facility in obtaining baptism.

The Paravars already pledged to Christianity.

The people of Travancore won by a deliverance from enemies.

A wide difference remains.

[1] Dubois, *Lettres*, p. 74.

all reasonable deductions, to satisfy us that, beyond most other missionaries, if not beyond all other missionaries, to the heathen since the early ages of the Church, his work was crowned with the conversion to Christianity of a great number of idolaters.

Elements of success in Xavier's circumstances and character. Distance from Europeans.

And, if we inquire into the causes of his success, I think we shall find those that I shall mention to be among them. His work lay, for the most part, away from the ordinary resorts of Europeans. The heathen, therefore, to whom he preached, had not in general seen Christianity dishonoured and denied by the evil lives of those who professed to be governed by its holy precepts. Xavier felt the importance of this. First he set himself to reform the Portuguese, and then he went and preached to the heathen at a distance from them. Thus he had an advantage over modern missionaries in India. Everywhere throughout that land Europeans are now scattered—Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danes, English. And the English, who are most widely planted among them, have not been one whit behind their neighbours in shewing to the natives how cruel, immoral, and degraded a professing Christian can be. Throughout India it is now known that all Christians are not good, that very many Christians are exceedingly bad. And here, as all missionaries combine to testify, as our own experience at home assures us that it must be, is one great strong barrier to the progress of Christianity among them. That Xavier's career was comparatively unimpeded by such a barrier may account for a part of his extraordinary success.

His own earnestness, sympathy, &c.

But, looking at the man himself, we see in his own character some of the elements of that success. Earnestness, courage, perseverance, are qualities which in almost every undertaking cannot fail to reap their reward. In him these were found deep and strong. His ready sympathy and love for his fellow-men was undoubtedly, under God, the cause of many conversions. Nothing was more plain to those among whom he laboured than the fact that this man, who had come from Europe to convert them, loved them as his brothers or his children; that for their bodily comfort, but

especially for their spiritual life, he was ready to watch and labour and endure—even to die. In their sickness he was at their bedside to tend and comfort them; he shared in their poverty and distress, bore their sorrows with them; when they were driven from their homes, he followed them and brought them back. He shewed himself their friend in the giving of gifts, more substantial than words, more real, to their untutored imagination at first, than doctrines and sacraments, and so he won their hearts to himself that he might afterwards win them to his Saviour.

His own prayerfulness.

Nor must we forget that he was preeminently a man of prayer. Knowing his dependence upon Divine help, he sought that help earnestly and constantly. His prayers were perhaps mingled with superstitions; his intercessors were perhaps more than were needful; but he prayed, and the God who heareth prayer heard him and helped him. If we believe, as we must if we attend to the declaration of Christ, "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given," that God's spiritual blessings are bestowed more abundantly upon those who are more earnest and persistent in using and seeking them; then we cannot doubt that the great power of God was with Xavier in his preaching, his teaching, his example, his influence. Of the miracles which are attributed to him, I wish to say no more than that which I have already said. But I believe that by him, and by every earnest and faithful minister of God's word and sacraments who has continued instant in prayer, has been exerted a more wonderful power than that which heals the sick bodies and raises the dead bodies of men—the power by which dead souls are quickened into new spiritual life; and that thus is fulfilled the gracious promise of the Divine Master, "Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go unto my Father."

Few missionaries equal to Xavier.

In these things then we find the explanation of Xavier's success. It may be questioned whether, among more recent missionaries, there have arisen many who, in mental gifts, personal influence, earnestness, courage, prayerfulness, unselfishness, love, have been fully equal to him. That there

have been some who in one or other of these particulars have equalled, perhaps surpassed him, I make no doubt; but there probably have been few who, in the combined possession of all the qualities which go to make a true missionary, have been second Xaviers. Certain it is that, if there have been such, they have not in general possessed the other advantages which fell to his lot, that they did not labour among a people already predisposed towards Christianity, that they were not supported by the weight and authority of a powerful nation, for England has ever been backward to throw her political influence into the scale with the Gospel, and that they have had to contend against a strong and well-grounded prejudice against the Gospel and its professors, based upon the careless, godless, abandoned lives of European settlers and officials.

Condition of things favourable to the Gospel likely to be restored in India.

If ever this favourable combination of men and circumstances occur again, let us have sufficient faith in God and in the power of the Gospel to believe that missionary efforts will be attended with an equal or greater measure of success. And I think that events are tending in that direction.

Government influence less hostile.

England is becoming more generally known in India as a Christian power. A high authority has told us that the royal proclamation of 1858 has been of considerable use in this respect[1]. The words of that proclamation are habitually quoted by the natives now, as embodying the great fundamental principle of our rule in India—as expressing the determination of the English Government to allow on the one hand complete liberty of opinion, but on the other hand to encourage the extension of that Christianity which is her best gift to the nations. Surely the time will soon be past, when the natives of India may be able to regard the missionary as despised of his own countrymen, and to find encouragement for their persistence in idolatry in the thought that the English Government prefers their remaining in heathenism. England does not, and surely never will, imitate the Portuguese, in using the sword, the prison, and the rack, for

[1] Sir B. Frere, *The Church and the Age*, p. 371.

the purpose of spreading Christianity in India; but, if the moral influence of her Government be exercised upon the right side, the effect upon the native mind will be far greater; and thus, one of the conditions, under which the earliest European missionaries achieved their wonderful success, will be more than restored.

English example less pernicious.

Nor does it continue doubtful that that other hindrance of which I have spoken, which consists in the immoral and abandoned lives of many of the English in India, will be, not indeed entirely removed, but greatly diminished. Whilst on the one hand the native mind, enlightened by education, rendered more familiar by Christian preaching and the diffusion of Christian writings with the system of the Gospel, is learning to distinguish between profession and reality, between the power of Christianity upon the life, and the language of Christianity on the lips; on the other hand it is reported that the tone of society in India is rising, following what has been on the whole the *upward* tendency of English morals during the past half-century; that civil and military stations no longer present to the eyes of the wondering idolater the degraded and corrupt spectacle which they formerly presented. And thus the advantage, which Xavier gained by labouring far away from those sinks of European vice and profligacy, which were as yet only known to their more immediate neighbours, will again be on the side of the Christian missionary. When he is surrounded by societies of English gentlemen, whose moral tone is at any rate not lower than that of the heathen among whom they live; when the land is governed and judged by 'sahibs' who do not curse their servants with execrations horrible to hear, and violently ill-use them for a trifling fault, who do not live in open disregard of all moral and religious laws; he will not be met so frequently with the allegation that Christians are little better than devils.

Preparation of the native mind.

Nor will a predisposition towards Christianity be altogether wanting. There will be one which will form a more solid ground-work for the labours of missionary builders than that which Xavier found among the Paravars. Such

a preparation of the native mind is undoubtedly now going on, and in this some, who know India well, recognize the most valuable result which has yet appeared of our influence as a Christian nation upon the people of that land. Among Hindus and Mahometans, as well as among the more ignorant sects of devil-worshippers, old notions and prejudices are giving way, old creeds and systems are breaking up. The Brahmin, leaving his traditional deities, searches the Christian Scriptures to find for himself a new religion. The Mahometan, hearing what Christian teachers have to say, turns again to his Koran, and to the Old Testament prophecies which he also receives, and finds there, in the new light which is breaking in upon him, truths and difficulties which he had never perceived before. The Sabæan or Fetisher, taught in missionary schools to read and think, learns to scorn the fears and superstitions of his fellows, turns with relief from the dark and hateful objects of his former worship to think about the God of light and benevolence, of whom he hears the Christian speak. And here, in the eager seeking after enlightenment of the awakened Brahmin, in his restless flitting from one half-truth to another, in the eclectic deism which has sprung up and passed through manifold phases within the last few years, among whose latest utterances is found this confession of guiltiness and the need of an Intercessor, "O Lord! I am a vile sinner; I am not worthy to approach the Father[1]," and which has now advanced so far as to regard the life and character of Christ with the utmost enthusiasm and reverence, without, however, confessing His divinity[2]; in the increasing difficulties of the Mahometan in his attempt to reconcile his own religion with reason and the voices of the ancient prophets; and in the half-untutored cravings and aspirations of the unenlightened outcasts; in all these the Church of Christ may see her opportunity, may recognize a surer preparation

[1] Tamil Prayer Book, published by the "Veda Samajam," quoted in the *Mission Field*, XII. p. 108.

[2] See *Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia*, a Lecture delivered in the spring of 1866, by the President of the "Brahma Samaj."

for an intelligent and vital reception of Christianity, though it may be that it will need more skilful handling, than that upon which Xavier had to work.

Grounds for confidence.

Thus, as it seems to me, is a condition of things growing up in India, under the good providence of God, by means of English civilization, education, and religion, in which the missionary may enter upon his work as upon a field ripe for the harvest. And when with this is found combined that fitness for the work which has been seen in Xavier, we may be confident that God will grant, not perhaps greater increase in numbers to His Church visible, but an incoming of many earnest souls into the invisible communion of Christ-loving saints, such as has never been known since the times of the apostles. I do not say, indeed, that Xavier as he was would be the typical missionary for these days, but that we must have men as suited for the work which awaits them, as he was for his work. Missionary efforts are not now to be carried on, even in South India, among the lower classes of the people only, among Paravars and Shanars; but the Christian messenger must be prepared to carry his message to the Kshatrya[1] and the Brahmin, whose readiness for the Word is attested not only by the spiritual restlessness of many, but also by the conversion of a few. And for this end there must be men of a more enlightened creed, of a more elastic ecclesiastical system, of broader sympathies in doctrine. But, otherwise, let us have men likeminded with Xavier, men of keen and subtle intellect, as he was, to deal with the awakened intelligence of the more thoughtful classes; and, to deal with all classes, men of an intense human sympathy, men of love and helpfulness, men of courage, self-denial, persistency, above all, men of prayer—and we fear not for the result.

Suitable men are required.

Such men will take advantage of the lessons which may be read in the lives of all earnest missionaries, and among these, of Xavier. From his personal character and its effect upon his work they may learn, from his self-devotion and unwearying effort, from his measures too for the edification of

Lessons to be derived from the life of Xavier.

[1] The second or military caste.

his converts. All Christian ministers, indeed, whether they labour among the heathen or among Christians, may study with profit such traces of his methods and habits of dealing with himself and others as have come down to us. With reference to the private life of the Christian, let us read the rules which he gave to Juan Bravo, who was by him received into the Society of Jesus. First, In the morning meditate on some mystery of the Lord; pray for half-an-hour. Then renew your vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Second, After dinner resume your morning's prayer and reflection for half-an-hour. Third, In the evening exercise careful self-examination with prayer for forgiveness. Fourth, On the morrow recall this self-examination. Think upon your sins of the previous day and ask for God's grace. Fifth, Labour continually to overcome selfishness, passion and pride[1].

With reference to the labours of the Christian pastor, let us remember how it was said of him: "Though he was ever forming new designs as if he was to live beyond an age, yet he laboured as if he had not a day to live[2]." His method of dealing with the people among whom he ministered may supply us with an useful hint or two. "Towards the concubinarians (at Goa) he acted as our Saviour towards the harlots. The deeper they were plunged in vice, the more tenderly did he seem to use them[3]." His advice to those whom he sent to the heathen or placed over congregations of converts was always, to begin by learning the language and studying the habits and feelings of the people, and to do all that they could do rightly to gain their love; to deal gently with the faults of new converts, remembering that they were but just emancipated from the bondage of ignorance and idolatry[4]. All must agree in the wisdom of this counsel, yet all would not agree as to the extent to which some of the principles are to be carried in practice. One of the greatest difficulties with missionaries in India has always been in connection with the faultiness of their

[1] *Life* (Dryden), pp. 280—2.
[2] *Ib.* p. 490.
[3] *Ib.* p. 79.
[4] *Ib.* p. 270, &c.

new converts, and their disposition to carry with them into Christianity the customs and prejudices of their heathen state. The question, How far may this be allowed without corrupting Christianity? how far, for example, may the distinctions of caste be tolerated in the Christian Church, or can they be tolerated at all? has been anxiously debated among Indian missionaries. To those who can bring to bear upon it actual experience of the working of various schemes of toleration or prohibition its decision must be left. Yet it does seem that prejudices so deeply rooted cannot, without injury, be torn up in a day, and that vicious habits, so strong as some of those which distinguish the natives of India, can only be overcome by much patient effort on the part of both teacher and disciple.

Importance of studying prevalent systems of belief.

The importance of studying not only the languages and manners of the people, as Xavier advised, but also their religious and philosophical systems, has received lately some attention from those who are interested in Indian missions, and must attract still more attention, the more the efforts of missionaries are directed to the better educated classes of Hindus. In a very interesting paper, read before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Bombay, December 27, 1866, the Honourable Mr Gibbs dwells with emphasis on this matter[1]. Having pointed out what he considers the comparative failure of missions, and the unfitness of some of the missionaries to cope with the native intellect, he urges the great necessity of special training for all who are to be employed in this work, that training being directly adapted to the particular nature of the work to be undertaken, and the characteristics of the people among whom it is to be carried on. This training is to consist, first, in the study of the languages, literature, and philosophy of the Hindu, Mussulman, and Parsi; afterwards, of their manners, customs, and feelings; and, lastly, in the practice of preaching and disputation. Particularly should the attention of the future

Special training necessary for missionaries.

[1] See Report in the *Mission Field*, Vol. XII. p. 91.

missionary be directed to those points of contact and agreement which subsist between his own Divine religion and the systems whose disciples he is to convert; so that he may go among them not altogether as an alien and an enemy, but as S. Paul went among the philosophers at Athens; that he may claim spiritual and intellectual kinship with the Hindu, who acknowledges a supreme Spirit, a Trinity, and an Incarnation; with the Mahometan, who believes in God, in the Old Testament writers, and in Jesus as a prophet like them. I desire to record my assent to the principles and reasonings of this paper. In South India, as we have seen, the efforts of the missionaries, both Romanist and Protestant, have been directed chiefly to the conversion of the lower and more ignorant classes. It is time that something were done to bring Christianity home to the higher and more educated, to the teachers and princes of India, to its merchants and nobles; lest, having cut them loose from their moorings in the old creeds, we leave them to drift without anchor and without compass in a troubled ocean of conjecture. And for this purpose it seems to me that an agency specially trained is essential. Nor can there be much question that such an agency should be prepared to go to the very utmost in the recognition of common truths. In Xavier we have seen the immense power which was gained for the Gospel lever by the employment of human sympathies as a fulcrum. Are there not other sympathies, besides those of the heart, which may be so used? Is it not to be expected that Christianity will be the more acceptable to the thoughtful Hindu or Mussulman, when, instead of attacking indiscriminately all that they have deemed sacred, she claims for herself the basis of truth which their creeds contain, and takes her stand upon it; when she summons to her side all the pure and beautiful images which, in their human systems, have been mingled with corrupted and distorted conceptions?

Direct efforts ought to be made to influence higher classes.

The right men then being forthcoming, as our faith in the watchfulness of our Divine Head teaches us that they will be when they are wanted, the company of faithful and de-

voted men now labouring in India being thus reinforced, proper measures being also taken by those who have the management of our missions, we may look hopefully forward.

There has been hitherto comparatively a small harvest in that mission field. But what if the time past has been the season of sowing rather than of reaping? What if even now an abundant harvest is ripening, as events seem to indicate? What if Indian minds, Indian hearts, Indian customs, are being prepared, by the action and reaction of and against English Christianity, to be penetrated with the Gospel, and the Indian peoples are becoming ready to welcome, as the object of national belief and worship, our God and Saviour? What then? May God grant to England and England's Church the honour of carrying in the sickle and binding up the sheaves throughout the greater part of that wide field, that she may present the nations of India as her children in the faith, and be crowned with the crown of the Missionary Church!

The past a time of sowing.

The harvest time approaches.

Only we must be true to ourselves and to our duty. We must not shrink from the toil and burden of harvest time. English Christians must be ready for the giving of their treasures and the devotion of their lives to the advancement of this great work, since on them depends apparently, under God, the speedy completion of it. We must not be content, as we have been, with small offerings and feeble efforts. Gold, energy, strong men, must be given willingly to the task. Noble hearts must still, as heretofore, and henceforth in greater numbers, dedicate themselves to a life of toil and self-renunciation for the Cross of Christ. May many such be stirred up! And for us, whose work for the present seems to lie at home, there remains the arousing of the missionary spirit more and more, the collection of the things which are necessary for the conduct of the work, and, above all, the building up in ourselves and others of a strong, earnest Christian life, whose influence shall go forth as an effectual missionary among the

England's Duties.

souls that are around us, nor be unfelt perhaps on the far-off shores—whose prayers shall rise, through the mediation of the One Intercessor, to the throne of God, and draw down, upon the unbeliever and upon his teacher throughout the world, comfort and blessing.

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